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KENYA: THERE MUST BE A POLITICAL SETTLEMENT

Attempt to break up meeting

By GENE SHARP

AN immediate change in the structure of the Legislative Council of Kenya in order to provide for more representation of Africans was demanded in London last week by Tom Mboya, the Secretary of the Kenya Federation of Labour.

"It is only when we have altered the balance of racial power of Kenya that we shall be able to advance toward a solution of the economic and social problems," he said.

"So long as the Europeans hold the power and are able to use it for their own interests," Mr. Mboya continued, "then I do not think that we shall be able to solve Kenya's problems."

The youthful leader of Kenya's African workers had declared that the concept of multi-racialism, the representation of racial groups as groups, and not even the effective representation of the various groups, "cannot serve as the basis of a permanent solution" to Kenya's political problems.

"So long as there is recognition of racial groups as against a homogeneous community, you will have racial conflict."

He urged recognition of the individual regardless of his race, and recognition of the individual on the basis of equality before the law.

The present leaders of Kenya Government are committed to some form of racialism, he said. "The Africans are told that they can go only so far and no further. If that is so, then multi-racialism is no solution."

He urged equality of individuals in Kenya "regardless of their race, colour or creed."

Those Europeans who were willing to live in Kenya on the bassis of such equality would be welcome to remain there.

POLITICAL SOLUTION FIRST

Social and economic development are dependent on a political solution in the country, he said.

Tom Mboya was speaking at a public meeting at Conway Hall, London, sponsored by the Movement for Colonial Freedom on June 27.

The meeting was the scene of repeated interruptions and shouting by several persons, presumably members of the League of Empire Loyalists. They were reasonably well-behaved during the early part of the meeting, but as the meeting progressed became increasingly obstructionist and noisy.

Joseph Murumbi, Co-Secretary of the MCF had urged a programme of social and economic development for Kenya, including direct and by the British co-operative movement for the establishment of co-ops in Kenya.

This should include financial and technical help. "By linking up community development and co-operatives I think we could develop something on a sound basis in Kenya," he said. "There is some effort along these lines being made by the Kenya Government, but they do not go deep enough."

Mr. Murumbi declared that "we have to get a political settlement in the country before we can get the necessary sense of co-operation and trust" to make such a constructive programme successful.

Most of the political leaders with whom we should be negotiating were in detention camps.

BOYS IN SHACKLES

Eileen Fletcher, in her 22nd speech of the month, told of a tour to a detention camp and prison. She described seeing 75 boys under 17 in shackles, as she had written in Peace News earlier.

According to the law, she said, juveniles can only be chained if they have been violent or tried to escape. She had several questions for Mr. Lennox-Boyd.

Eileen Fletcher said she understood that some had been chained a year.

"On what date were those boys chained?" she asked, "by whom and when were these dates recorded," and had the records been altered.

She refuted the Government's claim that ordinary prisoners are not put in with Mau Mau prisoners, and quoted a statement issued by the Colonial Office on her Peace News articles as evidence.

By the time the last speaker, Leslie Hale, MP and Peace News contributor, rose to speak, the Empire Loyalists were extremely disorderly. They had been patently warned several times by the Chairman to remain quiet during the speeches. He promised that there would be a question period at the end.

Mr. Hale rose to speak amid applause from the audience and boos from the hecklers.

"I am not pro-British, or pro-French, or

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MADAGASCAR AND THE GANDHI ROAD TO FREEDOM

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BIRMINGHAM'S WEST INDIANS AND THE CAR CRISIS

Defence expenditure blocks way to a sound economy

From FELICITY BOLTON

UNTIL June 26 the Birmingham press carried frequent leading and front page articles dealing with the influx of West Indian workers into the City, and the problems encountered by them and by officials and organisations responsible for their welfare or employment.

Typical headlines have been :

"Coloured people 34 to a house at 21s. a week each. Find Work in the Colonies—Official's Plea." *Birmingham Mail, September* 17, 1955.

"A Social Centre wanted by the West Indians in Birmingham." *Birmingham Post, September,* 1955.

"'Aid Coloured People' Call to Diocesan Conference." *Birmingham Post, May* 1956.

"Coloured Men as Union Officials—Suggestion to Prevent their Exploitation." *Birmingham Post, June,* 1956.

"West Indians to train as Railway Guard, 24 arrive in Birmingham." *Birmingham Post, June* 22, 1956.

"Jamaicans Hunt Jobs—Growing Problem in Midlands." *Birmingham Mail, June* 22, 1956.

Then suddenly and tragically, came the news of the mass dismissals in the British Motor Corporation motor industry factories on Wednesday, June 27, followed on Friday, June 29 by a strike at the Washwood Heath factory of Nuffield Metal Products of over 3,000 workers which is almost certain to be followed by strikes at other factories after the news of the restrictions of the Australian markets and the threat of further extensive dismissals.

Immigrants "last in, first out"

This "Blackest Day for Car Trade Since War" (Birmingham Mail) will inevitably affect, in some degree, the vast majority of the working population of this erstwhile "boom" city, and not the least among the victims of the economic crisis will be the 10,000 (approximate figure, but probably now increased) coloured immigrants, large numbers of whom now face the immediate issue of "last in, first out."

There are also the latest newcomers from the West Indies, including many women, whose chance of finding any employment at all unless "recruited" by officials in their own country is becoming increasingly remote.

Birmingham citizens are aware of these special problems, both from press reports and from their own experience, and there has been a growing realisation that special steps should be taken to ensure that no discrimination be exercised against any section of the community, or individual in it, on the grounds of his or her race or colour, and an increasing number of organisations in the city are attempting to solve some of the outstanding issues such as housing difficulties, cultural amenities, employment difficulties, Trades Union recruitment and local indications of colour bar.

Tackling the problem

The following list of organisations and activities will reveal the sincere desire of people to tackle the situation seriously.

Birmingham Christian Social Council has authorised a group of Fircroft College students to research into and publish an Enquiry into the "Employment of Coloured Workers."

A West Indian Improvement Association was formed at West Bromwich to help uplift the religious, social, educational and general welfare of its members.

Birmingham Baptists have formed a **Birmingham Friendship Housing Association** and have already bought some large houses to convert into one-roomed flats for coloured immigrants.

A research group under the auspices of **Birmingham University Extra-Mural Dept.** is studying racial and coloured issues in the city in collaboration with the **Clifton Institute.**

The **District Committee of the Amalgamated Engineering Union** issued a leaflet calling on all coloured workers to join the union.

The Archdeacon of Birmingham, the Very Rev. S. Harvie Clark has become the founder and first Chairman of a **Co-ordinating Committee** to deal with the colour problem.

The **Birmingham Area Council of the Movement for Colonial Freedom** has the Secretary of the **Birmingham Afro-Caribbean Organisation** on its Executive committee.

These are only a small number of the many separate groups actively or theoretically engaged in sorting out or trying to solve the problems which arise—but—and it is a major **but,** these various groups were formed, or were conducting their researches and activities in a period when there seemed no serious threat of mass unemployment. A Ministry of Labour official referred in May to employment difficulties being due to seasonal trade recession, but this can no longer be held to be a valid description of the situation in Birmingham, in which the car industry dominates the industrial scene, and unemployment (already officially recorded at 26,500 excluding the 40,800 on short time) can rapidly snowball into all subsidiary and allied trades and industries.

Brotherhood affirmed

A new and much more serious problem than that of the immediate issues, however distressing they still remain, has now arisen—that of the growing fear of thousands of Birmingham workers of unemployment, memories of the "hungry thirties" and continuous worry for the future and security of their families.

It has been said that "self-interest" dominates the British trade unionist, but this has seldom proved to be the case in Birmingham, except in isolated cases. In fact the Trades Council in February, 1956 overwhelmingly defeated a resolution demanding restriction of immigration.

The general trend of Birmingham thought during the last two years on this subject can be summed up by the Birmingham City Council resolution which was passed unanimously in April, 1955 that "all Corporation posts, including Town Clerkship, should be open to all, irrespective of creed or colour," and it is only now in face of the threat of acute economic depression that Birmingham citizens may begin to look around them for the most conspicuous scapegoat.

From Press reports it is evident that trade unionist rank and file members and Co-operative Guildswomen (among others) are beginning to ask "Why should these West Indians work for less money than we can live on?

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It's time for a peace policy

PEACE NEWS REPORTER

THE call for changes in British policy made by speakers at a rally in Trafalgar Square last Saturday are being echoed in the Press and at meetings in many parts of Britain.

There are growing demands for :

The end of the war in Cyprus ;
The abolition of conscription ;
The stopping of atomic and hydrogen bomb tests ; and for
Britain to "go it alone" by disarming.

In Trafalgar Square Stuart Morris, opening a meeting sponsored by British pacifist organisations, pointed out that there was no defence in the H-bomb or in policies based on suspicion and fear.

"Men and women," he said, "are beginning to ask themselves is this the best policy, the best way of running the world."

"We believe we have got a policy of courage and hope to match the present policy of fear and despair," he declared.

The Rev. Francis Noble, vicar of Crofton, Orpington (Kent), underlined this by recalling that not "one single problem that the Korean war was fought over was solved."

Emrys Hughes, MP, reminded the still growing crowd that "we have a lot of ugly little wars going on at the present time."

The war in Cyprus was disgracing Britain in the eyes of the world.

Indians in the audience nodded approvingly as he recalled how George Washington, and more recently, Nehru, had been denounced as "Terrorists" when they demanded freedom from imperialist rule.

Sybil Morrison urged the audience, which had increased to around 2,000 people, to join the pacifist movement "so that Britain can give a great moral lead in abolishing war," and Victor Yates, MP, emphasised that now was the time to make good "the missed opportunity of ending war" which presented itself in 1945.

Francis Noble speaking in Trafalgar Square. Seated left to right are Emrys Hughes, MP, Victor Yates, MP, Stuart Morris and Sybil Morrison. Above them are some of the posters and banners carried in a march lead by the London Pipe Band.

Renounce power politics

More than 500 replies, many with more than one signature, have been received to the letter published in the Press above the names of Professor C. A. Coulson, A. Ruth Fry, Laurence Housman, Professor Kathleen Lonsdale, and the Secretary of the Toldas Group, Alan Litherland.

The letter, briefly reported in Peace News last week, reads :

We were deeply concerned at the Prime Minister's recent announcement of the Government's intention to proceed with tests of thermo-nuclear weapons next year. Apart from possible radiation hazards, which are discussed in the Medical Research Council's report, just published, this new series of tests cannot fail to give a new impetus to

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New repression in Goa

AN unprecedented wave of repression by the Portuguese Government is taking place in Goa. Nearly 3,000 persons are reported to have been arrested since 1954. Over eighty prominent citizens have been arrested recently.

Following ten years of reliance on the methods of satyagraha in the Goans' struggle against Portuguese rule, in the face of the most severe repression a series of incidents of personal and underground violence has broken out by opponents of the regime.

Six prominent Indians and Goans have cabled Indian Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru, now in London for the Commonwealth Prime Ministers' Conference, urging him to "exert influence with free nations and Commonwealth to halt this inhuman repression."

"Goans in Bombay and Goa," they write are "greatly disturbed and agitated."

The cable is signed by Cunha Braganza, Chairman of the Goa Action Committee; Lawande, President, Azad Gomantak Dal; Sukthankar, for the National Congress of Goa; Soarres, President, Goa Liberation Council and University professor; Massarenhas, ex-Mayor of Bombay, and Rama Hegde, who with Cunha Braganza spent ten years in a Portuguese prison for participating in the first Goa satyagraha in 1946.

The Portuguese repression is "driving Goans to desperation resulting in acts of violence and sabotage," they said. There have been attacks on police posts, a ferry steamer, and mines. The Portuguese blame Indians for the incidents, but nearly all of them took place in the heart of Goa and are "obviously the work of desperate Goans," says the plea to Nehru.

The Portuguese continue to deny that there is any nationalist movement inside Goa, but the prisons are full.

Among those arrested recently are Shambu Kirtani, a leading merchant; Virginkar, businessman from Margao; Aristo Tavar Dias, prominent lawyer of Salcette; Alvaro Furtado, ex-president Salcette municipality; Dr. Frank Sequeira, prominent merchant and landlord; Hidin D'Costa, wealthy businessman and landowner; Ernest Costa Farias, son of retired government employee; Dr. Alvaro Costa, editor of the Portuguese language daily Diario de Goa, ex-mayor of Salcette, and physician in Margao Hospital; Vasant Naik, merchant; Colaco, leading medical practitioner

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POZNAN

THE road from dictatorship to freedom is a hard one. This is because dictators—equally with their subjects—become the captives of the system of their own creation.

We do not doubt that the dictators of Eastern Europe would very much like to see their regimes founded on a solid basis of freedom of political expression, organisation, speech and press such as exists in many countries such as Britain. This is true despite the severe inroads into democracy in such countries by centralisation of control and militarism.

We have seen a number of timorous steps taken by the totalitarian dictatorships in recent years toward a cautious liberalisation.

These regimes, however, had to face the dilemma that it is impossible to grant freedom on the condition that people will only use that liberty in a way thought best by those who have been controlling their lives. This is the same problem that confronts British imperialists in the areas under their dictatorship.

★ ★

LIBERTY means a chance to think and act in a way opposed to the will of former tyrants. This is a test of liberty.

The Yugoslav dictatorship once took a significant step toward liberalisation. It lengthened the leash upon which Djilas and Dedijer were held, so that they might take the first tentative steps toward forming a party of opposition—with assurances that the "opposition" would not get out of control.

The dictatorship, however, soon became terror-stricken at its own temerity. The hazardous enterprise was rapidly ended and the two men who were to have lead it were given nominal punishments.

In other totalitarian dictatorships, the attempts to introduce a carefully graduated measure of controlled freedom have had more tragic results.

In June, 1953, following the attempt to moderate the Communist regimes after Stalin's death, the workers of East Berlin marched in non-violent revolt down Stalinalles to demonstrate their desire for a change of government. There was immediate suppression and bloodshed, a clamping down of the police-state.

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THE country that has reacted most strikingly to the new situation created by Khrushchov's revelations on Stalin has been Poland. The revolt in Poznan of the popular will against the "people's power" has brought rapid suppression and a reversal of the liberalising trend. There has been a tightening up of the dictatorship in the whole group of Communist States.

The Poznan rising was a clear assertion of popular revolt against Government suppression. The leaders of the workers at the Stalin works who had been threatening to strike had been imprisoned; this provoked the uprising. Very soon after the demonstration began, however, the men acquired arms, and instinctively acted on militarist assumptions.

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IT is in no lack of sympathy with the people of Poland that we remark that while freedom cannot be "given" and if it is to be real must be won in struggle, it is unrealistic to believe that such a military struggle will result in freedom.

Freedom cannot be won by arms today, and even if there were to be "victory" by such means, the result would no more be freedom tha what was achieved by Russia in 1917.

Men and women must resort to non-military means to achieve or safeguard their freedom. Perhaps the peoples of the totalitarian states will discover this when others in the "free world" are able by their actions to show them the way.

THE recent Turkish proposal for a constitution for Cyprus so arranged as to prevent the Greek majority from exercising power cannot be regarded as a very realistic solution to the problem.

On the other hand the publishing of Dr. Kutchuk's plan does draw attention to the lack of any detailed British solution—unless the proposals discussed with the Commonwealth Prime Ministers last week can be so described.

The idea of possible self-determination for Cyprus at some definite date seems to have been accepted at last, but as that date is to be negotiated with both Greece and Turkey and the Turks remain opposed to any such concession, little immediate progress seems likely.

To anyone aware of the bitter distrust of Britain now almost universal amongst Greek Cypriots the Government's proposed offer of a "wide measure of self-government" with the hope of self-determination one day seems hopelessly inadequate.

Long before the present unrest the Cypriots had not sufficient trust in Britain to accept a reasonably liberal constitution and it is difficult to understand how the Government hopes to win their confidence now without a much more dramatic reversal of policy.

At the same time that British public opinion is turning against Harding's campaign of repression, the ordinary Greek Cypriot, harassed by fines, finger-printing, and curfews, is learning to believe the wildest stories of British oppression and villainy.

How much longer does the Government intend to play into the hands of "extremists" and "agitators"?

Okinawan tragedy

A US Congressional Committee dealing with the conditions under which the land of Okinawa shall be taken over from the tenants and used for the construction of military bases for America has just reported.

When the Committee visited the island last year, Dr. Downs, a representative of the National Council of Churches and the Field Secretary of the Inter-Board Commission for Christian Work in Japan testified before it as to the gross inequity of the compensation of the Okinawan farmers whose land had been taken away from them.

There were cases he claimed where the market price for the land would have been 45 times what the American Government was paying for it.

One example he gave was the site of an elementary school that had been taken over by the American Army for which it was paying a rent of 16,000 yen; to provide a substitute site for the school, the township (Gorku) was having to pay 720,000 yen.

The Committee has recommended that the land should not in any case be taken over at an annual rental but that there should be compensation by a lump sum payment.

We do not know whether the Committee make recommendations as to the rate of compensation, and if so how their proposals relate to the actual value of the land.

Military necessity

MOST of the people who have been dispossessed of their land, however, want to recover it, and however little confidence they may place in the assurance that Mr. Allison, US Ambassador in Tokyo, has just given that when Far East tensions relax the island will be returned to the control of Japan, it is clear that they have somewhat more reason to assume that

Cyprus
Okinawa
NATO
Stalin
Spain
Deterrents

they will have an opportunity to work their land again if they remain the nominal owners of it than if it is taken out of their hands completely on the basis of a lump sum payment.

A depuation from Okinawa has gone to Tokyo to seek the aid of the Japanese Government in persuading the American Government to reject the report.

What is being done under the military occupation of Okinawa is a really appalling example of what militarism can do to the life of a people. Okinawa, an island with a population of 600,000 (considerably larger than Cyprus) has had to submit to the suppression of all democratic practices and the destruction of its economic and social structure—the destruction, in fact, of its "way of life."

Okinawa is a grim demonstration that the upholders of a "free world" against totalitarian practices can be quite as ruthless in oppression as the totalitarian governments whenever in their judgment military "necessity" requires it.

The "Three Wise Men"

LITTLE has been reported of the progress that has been made in the deliberations of the "three wise men" appointed by the NATO Council to make proposals for NATO activity in the economic and political fields and it would appear that there is little progress to report.

The committee consists of Messrs. Lester Pearson (Canada), Gaetano Martino (Italy), and Halvard Lange (Norway).

Mr. Martino has remarked that although there is general agreement that this extension of NATO activities is desirable it is difficult to agree upon methods.

The committee has decided to submit a questionnaire to the Governments of the fifteen nations who are members of NATO. This covers 36 points.

The replies received will be examined by the committee at a meeting on September 10 and a report based on the information so collected will be submitted for consideration by the NATO Council at its meeting in Paris in December.

It may be hoped that in the intervening six months it will have been realised that NATO is no suitable instrument for the kind of activity that is contemplated unless we are to persist in maintaining the conditions of cold war, and that the kind of international co-operation that is in contemplation should properly be undertaken by UN.

Khrushchov's afterthoughts

THE long statement of 7,000 words that Khrushchov has now published in Pravda as a supplement to the revelations of his Congress speech on the Stalin regime is an important document that should be read in conjunction with the speech, which has been published in full by the Observer and the Manchester Guardian. We hope that it will be found possible also to publish the Pravda article in full. Perhaps the Daily Worker will do this?

The tortuous twists, contradictions and inconsequentialities of the Pravda "justification" of those in the leadership who went in fear under Stalin need to be examined so that the whole operations of policies based on Communist assumptions can be seen in their proper perspective. We believe that this article will considerably help in the display of the profound moral errors that made possible the stupendous human tragedy of Stalinism.

Persecution

THE Spanish authorities have taken the persecution of Protestants a step further by confiscating the stock of Bibles, and by bringing a legal action against the head of the Bible Society and other clergy for printing 5,000 copies of the New Testament in a translation not sanctioned by the Censor, and a hymn book for use by their congregation.

This action has led Bishop Dibelius of Germany to take the unusual step of appealing to the Cardinal Archbishop of Cologne to mediate with the Vatican in the interest of religious liberty in Spain.

It is certainly high time that the Catholic Church which is so insistent on the right of religious liberty for Catholics, should be equally concerned on behalf of all Christians, for freedom, like peace, is indivisible.

Deterrents and detergents

A PEACE NEWS contributor, Joseph Fleming, permitted himself some time ago to play about in jocular vein with the similarity between the words "deterrents" and "detergents," and his joke was quickly appropriated by writers in some other journals.

There is it seems, however, a point of similarity that does not end with the words. A report of a Committee on Synthetic Detergents, set up in 1953, has now been published as a blue book. Passing ultimately into rivers from which a great part of the population draw their water supplies, detergents may not only have effects on the fish and plant life but may also contaminate the water itself in a manner that cannot be completely rectified by the purification processes.

Here it will be necessary to keep the long-term effects under review, and the Committee makes a number of recommendations with a view to the obtaining of reliable information.

Just as we have no reliable knowledge on what the testing of "deterrents" may be doing to posterity so we have also, up to the present, no reliable knowledge on what detergents may be doing to ourselves!

The difference is that we may come upon the knowledge regarding the effects of detergents a great deal earlier and before a vast amount of irremediable harm has been done.

Mr. Walter, Mr. Miller and Miss Monroe

LETTER FROM USA
by A. J. Muste

SINCE my outburst about the disgraceful aspects of the publicity surrounding the marriage of Grace Kelly some months ago was not only read but, as I have recently been learning, appreciated by quite a proportion of my "public," I am emboldened now to make another venture into what might be called the periphery of movie stardom.

The "actress" involved in my present comment is none other than Marilyn Monroe. Let me hasten to observe that it has never occurred to me that she was an actress, as I thought Grace Kelly was. I could do without seeing any of the pictures in which she appeared and actually did do without, except on one occasion when I had an hour and a half to kill between planes in London and the only picture handy was one in which The Monroe was featured.

A NEW MARILYN

What struck me in that movie, as in the pictures of her appearing in the papers and on the bill boards, was that when you looked at her face, there wasn't anybody there. I don't mean that she looked stupid or witless. Stupidity in a face is at least something; it tells something.

Marilyn Monroe's face, until the other day, was simply not there.

One surmises that some day she might acquire character, become a person, and then there would be a face which might be quite beautiful and would have an air of surprise and wistfulness and womanliness—that's the best word I can think of—about it.

Now the other day there was a picture of her in some of the papers. The difference between it and the typical pictures of her was almost unbelievable. In this latest picture she had a face. She was standing next to Arthur Miller, probably the foremost American playwright, whom she is to marry within a week or two.

This brings me to my point and I suppose it was high time we were getting to it. Arthur Miller took a fairly prominent part in Communist united fronts for a number of years. This was common knowledge; but the House Un-American Activities Committee did not get round to summoning Miller to appear and purge himself until it recently became known that he and Miss Monroe had fallen in love and were to be married.

I suppose Chairman Walter, Pennsylvania Democrat, and some of the members of the Committee could not let this opportunity to get headlines all over the country and may be all over God's earth, go by.

So on June 21—the beginning of summer, the longest day in the year, the day when the sun stands still, as it were—Miller had to appear before the Committee in Washington.

Miller stated frankly that in the past he had too freely given his name to "fronts." He stated that he had never been under Communist discipline, however.

In order to get the passport he will need to accompany Miss Monroe when she leaves for England on July 13 to make a picture with Laurence Olivier, he has signed the non-Communist oath which is now required of persons seeking passports—a circumstance which may curtail travel for some of us. He did not attempt to claim the constitutional privilege against self-incrimination when the crucial moment in the hearing arrived.

MORE THAN AN ACTRESS

What was that moment? It was when—reference having been made by Miller to a meeting of "Communist writers" in 1947—he was asked to name others who were there. To this degrading and insulting question Miller made the correct and noble reply:

> "I understand the velocity behind this question . . . I'm not protecting Communists or the Communist Party. **I will protect my sense of myself.** I could not use the name of another person. I wouldn't make it tougher on the life of any writer . . . I'll tell you anything about myself . . . I cannot take the responsibility for another human being."

He has now been summoned within ten days to answer the question and told that if he fails to do so, he may be cited for contempt. Today's paper, June 28, carried a report quoting a close friend as saying that Miller abhors "informers," therefore, "as

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From the Editor's Notebook

Plaid Cymru

THE Welsh Party (Plaid Cymru) is contesting the Newport by-election today (Friday, July 6). Their offices are at 179 Dock St., Newport.

The Party is pledged to non-violence in winning and preserving Welsh freedom and independence.

In your library?

FULHAM Public Libraries have recently added Peace News to the newspapers available at the Central Library. Lincoln Library is another addition which has not been reported in our columns.

We know of 130 public libraries which have Peace News. In some cases they purchase copies, in others the paper is a gift from a reader.

Is Peace News in *your* local library?

A new president

A FORMER Chairman of the Baptist Missionary Society, the Rev. D. Gordon Wylie, M.A., B.D., is the new President of the Baptist Pacifist Fellowship.

The Fellowship can congratulate themselves on having one of the leading Baptist personalities at the head of their movement.

Summer camp discussions

A SUMMER CAMP, with a discussion programme on world affairs is being arranged by the campers planned by the American Friends Service Committee (Quakers) at Camp Danby, Ithaca College from August 25, to September 1, 1956.

Reginald Reynolds, of Peace News Board, will be one of the discussion leaders.

The camp property includes a lake, softball field and many trails for hiking. Cabins house eight to ten campers each.

Applications to Middle Atlantic Region High School Programme, AFSC, 20 South 12th Street, Philadelphia 7, Pa.

Tribunal Chairman's views on war

Those of our readers who have appeared before, or may appear before, Judge Gerald Hargreaves at the London Tribunal for Conscientious Objectors have a special interest in the Tribunal Chairman's views on war.

Below is a portion of a speech as it was reported in the Bedfordshire Times on May 18. Judge Hargreaves, as Chairman of the Old Comrades Committee, was proposing the toast of his regiment, the 1/1 Bedfordshire Yeomanry "A" Squadron, Machine Gun and Headquarters Sections, at the annual reunion dinner.

"The biggest cheer of the evening," says the report, "went up at the news that the Regiment is to be continued."

SIR GERALD HARGREAVES said a good deal of nonsense was talked about the question of war; but at the present time they saw a change of policy in this country which was having, and he hoped would go on having, abundant good result.

The first two world wars to a great extent were due to the fact that we tried an experiment, which in those days was a worthy one. It was founded on good intentions.

Those two wars were preceded by a considerable period of almost total disarmament because it was hoped that if we led in the direction of pacifism other countries would follow the lead.

When, in spite of our wishes to the contrary, we had to take up arms the conscience of the whole country was clear, having done its best to avoid that terrible eventuality. As things turned out, this was possibly one of the reasons the civilized world rallied to the side of a small island with a tiny army against those who were rightly dubbed aggressors.

"Jaw" better than war

Sir Gerald went on to say that ideas of warfare had now changed. In those days it was regarded as a glorious occupation and the only one really worthy of a man. But in those days, with the excitement of close personal combat, the honour and glory of it may have been more conspicuous.

Gradually the opinion of the world had changed and now the opinion was held, as Sir Winston Churchill had so well put it, that it was better to have plenty of jaw-jaw rather than plenty of war-war.

It was now acknowledged in this country that if we wanted to avoid war we must make it dangerous and no longer a paying concern to those who contemplated aggression towards us.

And so now we and our allies at the other side of the Atlantic were armed to the teeth.

"Look at the attitude of those who might be aggressors," went on Sir Gerald.

They came here and were entertained by the various parties—with varying success (laughter) —but still they came trying to see whether it would not be better to have continuance of jaw-jaw rather than a re-commencement of war-war.

"We hope that is something which will continue," said Sir Gerald.

When people talked about outlawing war he wondered what they had in their minds. One had to meet an attack however reluctant one might be to be dragged in. A great advance in civilization had always followed war and many good results would not have occurred without fighting.

FOOTNOTE: *Judge Hargreaves shares the popular misconception that Britain disarmed between the two world wars. The Peace News pamphlet, "It isn't true," records that at no time in that period did the figures for arms expenditure drop below £100 million, while the figures for 1937-8 were £283 m. and 1938-9 £406 m. The 1913 figure was £73 m.*

LET'S ABOLISH WAR

THE Standing Joint Pacifist Committee has obtained two banners carrying the slogans "Let's Abolish War" and "Plan Peace Peacefully" as representing the common aim of the participating organisations and all pacifists.

As I write we are looking forward to marching with the banners and posters to Trafalgar Square headed by the London Pipe Band for the big Demonstration on June 30.

We hope that the consciences of hundreds of passers-by will be jolted by the procession through London and that thousands will be challenged by the message which will ring round Trafalgar Square.

But this is only one particular part of the Peace Pledge Union's work, and whether you were able to be at Trafalgar Square or not, you can always be issuing the challenge of individuals, "Do you want to abolish war? Do you want to plan peace peacefully?" "Then what are you doing about it as an individual? Why don't you renounce war?"

For pacifists one answer must be to enable the pacifist message to be given adequately and constantly, and that means finding the necessary money for activities.

We need at least £100 to cover the epenses of the Trafalgar Square rally and give us a small balance for our next effort. If you were not able to be present and contribute to the collection you can, and I am sure you will, send your share to the Peace Pledge Union Headquarters Fund now.

STUART MORRIS,
General Secretary.

Our aim for the year: £1,150.
Amount received to date: £552.

Donations to the Peace Pledge Union, which are used for the work of the PPU, should be sent marked "Headquarters Fund," to the PPU Treasurer at Dick Sheppard House, Endsleigh Street, London, W.C.1.

A call from Portuguese resistance movement

BRING SOLDIERS HOME; SETTLE GOA PROBLEM PEACEFULLY

This is a translation of a cyclostyled leaflet distributed in Portugal by a District Committee of the National Democratic Movement (the MDN)—a Portuguese underground resistance movement against the present dictatorship of President Salazar.

The MDN is reported to be lead by Socialists and democrats, with only a minority of members who are Communist sympathisers. The Communist movement is said to be separate and larger, appearing from time to time under various names. The Communist movement is said to be well-financed, and due to censorship and due to this and lack of communication with the outside world, many opponents of the dictatorship do not know of non-Communist groups elsewhere with which they might feel closer bonds.

This call for a peaceful solution to the Goa problem is significant in light of the insistance of the Goans on the use of only non-violent methods in attaining their freedom from Portuguese rule.

FOR all humanity the war of 1914–18 stands out as a fearful picture of destruction and death only surpassed by World War II.

Ten million dead—ten million lives against which was committed the international crime of war . . . more than 20 million mutilated, and the work and effort built by several generations destroyed.

Whole villages and towns destroyed without leaving any trace of such cities as Rheims, Arras, Verdun and others, only ruins remained; whole countries were subjected to the pitiless devastation by the combatant armies.

Four hundred billion dollars—according to American experts—was the cost of material damage.

For the Portuguese people, this World War I was tragically brought home by April 9, 1918. The blood of our soldiers on that day was generously poured out on the soil of France, so that there should be no more wars.

Future full of threats

Nevertheless, the peoples have only with great difficulty come to realise their own strength, and humanity saw itself in 1939 involved in a more terrible conflict. . . .

. . . in accordance with the desires of the peoples, the Geneva Conference took place, which marked the spirit of negotiation as the only way to solve the problems outstanding between nations. Since this now historic conference, they are witnessing a real change in the international situation and a profound modification in the relations between states.

In Portugal the refusal of the government of the "new state" (i.e. the present dictatorship) to accept this modification, and the pursuit of active preparation for war—as witnessed by the recent presentation to the Corporative Chamber of a Bill providing for conditions of a state of war and preparations for it, and moreover the obstinate refusal to accept the spirit of negotiation as the way to solve the Goa problem—all these put our people face to face with a future full of threats.

Moreover, in flagrant contradiction with its policy of active war preparation and repression stands the fact that its responsibilities increased with the recent admission of our country to UNO; since the government of any country admitted undertakes to develop every effort towards a better understanding among all peoples, and to respect the application of the Universal Declaration of the Rights of Man.

Opposition to war preparations

But the Government of the "new state," which on the international level refuses to accept the condemnation of positions of strength as a means of solving problems between nations, besides denying the Portuguese people the right to the fundamental freedoms, continues to reinforce its repressive police machinery with the object of gagging public opinion and all the patriots and supporters of peace, who are becoming more and more vigorously opposed to its policy of war preparation and repression.

Confirming this policy there was recently published a decree providing for cases of revocation, on the mere opinion of any director of the civil or of the political police (PIDE) of conditional liberties, and the transformation of the inhuman security measures for political prisoners into a regime of imprisonment—which constitutes a gross violation of the Portuguese Constitution and the above-mentioned Declaration of the Right of Man.

For defending peace, hundreds of patriots and peace-lovers have passed through the political prisons and through the tribunals; at this moment a prosecution is pending against some outstanding members of the Central Committee of the MND [National Democratic Movement], because a document was published in which it patriotically and unashamedly vindicated its love for peace and the desire of the Portugese people for the Goa question to be settled peacefully by means of negotiation.

On the occasion of the first trial, now annulled by the Supreme Court of Justice, people of the most varied political tendencies, in a ringing patriotic demonstration of unity, expressed to the court their solidarity with the arrested members of MND Central Committee, and the arbitrary nature of such a sentence.

The MND, a movement opposed to the "new state" and distinguished in the fight for peace, for national independence and for the conquest of basic freedoms, invites all democrats, patriots and friends of peace . . . to demand:

Amnesty for political prisoners.

Annulment of the proceedings against the members of the Central Committee of the MND.

Abolition of the Censorship.

Return of Portuguese soldiers from India and a solution to this problem by peaceful means [Translation by WRI

TWELVE QUESTIONS FOR THE UPHOLDERS OF CIVIL LIBERTIES

1. **Do you recognise and welcome controversy as a creative means of discovering new truth?**
2. **Do you actively oppose attempts to restrict the freedom to discuss controversial subjects?**
3. **Do you resist attempts to silence opposition to present foreign, national and local policies?**
4. **Do you actively oppose measures designed to enforce a narrow orthodoxy of thought and expression?**
5. **Do you uphold freedom of expression by making facilities available to groups who are restricted in their opportunities to hold public meetings and discussions?**
6. **Do you accept the responsibility of citizenship by keeping well-informed on current affairs?**
7. **Do you express your opinions to those who represent you in Parliament and other branches of the government?**
8. **Do your principles enter into your choice among candidates for public office?**
9. **Do you seek to minister to the needs, economic and spiritual, of individuals rejected by society for upholding unpopular opinions?**
10. **Have you sought to give fellowship and understanding to such people?**
11. **Have you sought to deal sympathetically with such people, being aware of their opinions, but not allowing them to colour your feelings for the individual holding them?**
12. **Do you affirm your faith in the power of truth to triumph over error by seeking out and extending friendship to persons suffering for principles contrary to those which you yourself hold?**

—Abridged from "A Query" prepared by the Civil Liberties Committee of Quakers in Philadelphia, USA, 1955.

Rhodesian boycott still peaceful

THE African boycott of European and Indian shops in Northern Rhodesia, reported in Peace News some weeks ago, is proceeding peacefully with no sign of an ending. It is already three months old.

The boycott has spread to Mufulira in the Copperbelt, and it is reported that the African National Congress plans to extend it also to Chingola in the Copperbelt and Fort Jameson, in the Eastern Province.

The boycotts have previously been effective at Ndola, Kitwe and Lusaka. They are reported to have been generally orderly. There have been a few occasions when African pickets have threatened Africans who insisted on making purchases from the boycotted shops, and a few arrests have been made when they removed or destroyed the purchased items.

Generally, however, the boycott has been peaceful and the Territorial Government have thus far taken no action against peaceful picketing.

It appears that the Government is being heavily pressured by local newspapers and businessmen to take action against the persistant use of the boycott.

The Central Africa Correspondent of the Manchester Guardian commented: "Perhaps the most remarkable aspect of the campaign, aside from the patience of the Government, has been the demonstration of the fact that the authority of the African National Congress can extend over towns in widely separated parts of Northern Rhodesia; and also the manner in which it is able to prevent incidents other than isolated demonstrations by individuals."

CD includes resurrection

The following is from a Home Office Press release of a speech by Gen. Sir Sidney Kirkman, GCB, KBE, MC, Director-General of Civil Defence:

While it was true, he said, that the armed forces would play an increasingly important part in civil defence it would always be the case that, if the bomb burst, the first organised body to arrive on the scene would be the local unit of trained civilians, whether from the Civil Defence Corps or from the Industrial Civil Defence Service.

RELIGIOUS NEWS AND VIEWS
a monthly column by
STUART MORRIS

Conscience, the H-bomb. .

FATHER ILLTUD EVANS has suggested that plans to explode Britain's first H-bomb in tests early next year should lead Roman Catholics to examine their consciences about the whole question of nuclear weapons on the ground that:

"Man is responsible for his actions. He cannot legitimately set causes into action that have unpredictable, grave and indiscriminate effects."

Father Illtud recalls that the Pope has castigated those who would unleash a modern war and condemned as "not lawful on any title" weapons which have passed "utterly beyond the control of man."

In his Christmas message the Pope was not content with insisting on the ending of tests with nuclear weapons and made it clear that the only adequate programme was to work for the ending of their use and to provide for rigorous measures of international control.

Since it is now recognised that the existence in America and Russia of a stock pile of H-bombs which will not deteriorate and are stored beyond the possibility of inspection and control, it is irrational as well as unChristian to make the ending of the use of H-bombs dependent on measures of international control.

Moreover, since the fundamental issue is a moral one, the decision cannot be conditional and must involve the readiness to exercise the moral virtue of trust. The only line which Christians can now take is that of the renunciation of the H-bomb as part of the renunciation of war which has become intolerable to Christian consciences.

. . and disarmament

THE Church of England newspaper approaches the problem of disarmament from a different angle, arguing that "when we were in dread of war at any moment the expenditure of a large proportion of our national resources on armaments may have been excusable, but to continue it a moment longer would be folly.

"To save £500,000,000 on armaments would solve the country's financial problem in a very short time."

While the changed political situation and the pressure on our economy is making a reappraisal necessary, it remains true that it is the particular function of a Church newspaper to point the moral issue rather than rely on economic arguments.

While a reduction in armaments might ease the burden, it is no answer to the moral problem which can only be solved so far as Britain is concerned by unilateral disarmament.

Religion in Russia

MR. KHRUSHCHOV is reported to have said:

"Although we do not ourselves believe in God, we respect the religious convictions of any group who declares its belief in any religion whatsoever. Opposition to religion in the Soviet Union in the past has been directed not against the Church but against its leaders who tried to obstruct the course of the Revolution. Now that the Soviet regime rests on a secure foundation the Communist Party and Government will show greater indulgence towards Church authorities."

Because means determine ends, it is inevitable that a regime founded on violence should continue to use violence when it believes the end still justifies it.

It is not to be supposed that "indulgence" means that the leaders of the Soviet Union will now be more ready to allow the churches in Russia to exercise their undoubted responsibility of criticising what they believe to be wrong in the policies and methods of the Government.

Does "respect for religious convictions" carry a real recognition of the rights of conscientious objection to military service and war itself?

Nothing less than the renunciation of violence and war by the leaders of Russia as by the leaders of Britain and America will suffice. The tragedy is that the leaders of the Christian churches in countries where they are free to give a moral lead so seldom exercise it.

Open criticism

FROM the first extraordinary Synod of the German Evangelical Churches to be held since the war has come the most open criticism yet made in Eastern Germany of the Communist regime. The Bishop of Kottbus has asked for real freedom for the Churches in Eastern Germany and, arguing that the Evangelical Churches were loyal to both the East and West German States, appealed for the reunification of Germany.

Dr. Niemoeller has joined those who urge that all-German talks should be held to speed the process of reunification. On the question of conscientious objection the Speaker of the Lower House of the East German Government flatly refused to make concessions.

Answering the request of Dr. Dibelius for an appropriate law, he said that atomic development had made conscientious objection "superfluous."

BOOKS

From a U.S. prison

Birdman of Alcatraz, by Thomas E. Gaddis, London, Gollancz, 16s. New York, Random House, $3.95.

An Apple a Day, by Lenard Kaufman, New York, Henry Holt and Company, $3.50.

BIRDMAN OF ALCATRAZ, subtitled "The Story of Robert Stroud," by Thomas E. Gaddis, is the biography of a remarkable man.

Stroud had been convicted of murder in the Federal Territory of Alaska in 1909, when he was nineteen years old. In prison at Leavenworth, Kansas, he killed a guard and as a consequence of this was sentenced to life imprisonment and placed in solitary confinement. This was in 1916 and he has been in solitary confinement ever since, except for the time necessary for transfer to Alcatraz.

Prison, at best, is a corroding experience and solitary confinement can crush a man's personality or cripple it past human shape. Stroud, although far from unscarred, had the stubborness and the capacity to become such a student of canaries and their diseases that his DIGEST OF THE DISEASES OF BIRDS has become the definitive work in its field.

It is ironical that the reforms, which changed the old corrupt federal prisons into the Federal Bureau of Prisons, the almost formidable model for penologists everywhere, took Stroud's canaries away from him and forbade him the correspondence with canary breeders and bird journals which had saved his sanity and gave him useful work to do.

Mr. Gaddis, who thinks it is a presumption for a non-convict to write about prisons or a prisoner, must have read endless letters and reports and had innumerable conversations to compile his facts, all of which he says are documented. He does not say whether he ever talked to Stroud himself. It is sometimes difficult to understand his knowledge of events in the depths of prison or in the turmoil of Alaska's gold rush days, but he would seem to have made only one minor mistake. He places the total of Federal prison population in 1929 at 90,000. This was probably the total prison population of the United States.

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IN AN APPLE A DAY, Lenard Kaufman has written a novel around the theme of selfless idealism as opposed to self-seeking materialism. (The exponent of the first almost dies of malaria and the second ruins a well paying medical career.) Unfortunately, Mr. Kaufman doesn't quite reach to this high purpose.

After his brother-in-law, who has been a conscientious objector in World War II and a relief worker in India since, returns with a classic case of malaria, the fashionable Dr. Rossiter rapidly loses control and brings his whole life, career, wife, house in Georgetown, all down around his ears like a house of cards until he ends by plantively calling his mother in Boston. We are happily spared that conversation. The malaria victim is given a shot of a new drug (just developed in England) in the nick of time and is up and about the next morning.

There is one passage in this novel that readers of Peace News might well consider. The conscientious objector's first brother-in-law has criticised his position: "Where would this country be if everybody took that position? We'd all go under." His sister defends, or excuses, him by saying, "Or course we would. But that's just the point, William. Everybody can't take that position. Everybody isn't Alex."

Probably all too many people, especially the charitable ones, have that point of view. What do the CO's and their supporters have to say in answer? It was one thing to say, as they might, to one war or another, that the purposes of both sides were evil, that it would make little difference to the world which side won, that it was worthwhile preserving a witness to a truth, to keep one candle alight for a naughty peace. It is another to be a CO in World War III which will in all likelihood be an atomic war. Is there any more sense in that than in civil defence?

Perhaps this is too big a question to place on so slight a platform as AN APPLE A DAY but too many pacifists are content to repeat the old arguments about facing war. If war has come close enough for us to face, we are all lost. The only relevant trick now is to think of ways to keep it at a distance.

STEPHEN SITEMAN.

Natural pacifist

Crusader's Tomb, by A. J. Cronin, Gollancz, 15s. **A new novel which was the subject of an article in this paper on May 25.**

THE way of genius, like that of the transgressor, is hard. Misunderstanding and condemnation by those not qualified to judge have always beset his path.

Convention is the yardstick used to measure worth and conformity is the smoothest road to success. The artist, it seems, must be scornful of such standards and must pursue his own way, regardless.

The stages through which Cronin's hero passes have a kind of inevitability; the misfortunes follow a pattern: breakaway from family, misunderstanding, poverty, hopeless passion, at last a satisfying love with someone whose background and character are completely different, illness (usually TB), early death, and recognition too late to undo the bitterness of past cruelty.

One is reminded of Maugham's MOON AND SIXPENCE but Cronin's hero is a gentle soul, that rare creature, a natural pacifist. Despite the stock situations and the *clichés*—"Her swan-like neck drooped . . . she had the look of a wounded bird, broken and pitiful. Presently she took a square of cambric from her bag and dried her eyes"—the interest is maintained throughout the long story.

The characters are convincingly drawn; there are some good descriptive passages, and the incidents are entertainingly devised. Even Shakespeare did not invent his plots.

BERYL RENDALL DAVIES

Village politics

The Non-Violent Economy and World Peace, by J. C. Kumarappa.

Sarvodaya and World Peace, by J. C. Kumarappa. Both from Akhil Bharat, Sarva Seva Sangh, Wardha, M.P., India.

GANDHI once stated that J. C. Kumarappa was a reliable exponent of his non-violent economics. What, then, are the essential features of the Gandhian economy?

Their basis is maximum self-sufficiency in every country, both as a whole and in its various parts, down to its villages.

Its foundation is well integrated agro-industrial, largely self-governing villages, which Gandhi described as Village Republics. The control of economic life is the core of village politics, and includes the control of the village culture, since the economic life becomes a part of social and personal conduct which must be brought under the guidance and control of moral and spiritual principles and a rational system of values.

The outcome is maximum virility in local life politically, economically and culturally, with maximum personal responsibility and creative opportunity for every member. This may be described as economic democracy at its best.

It follows that in a nation thus organised, centralised power will be at the minimum, whence there will be no frantic national struggles for maximum exports of industrial mass-produced goods in order to maintain unbalanced economies like that of Britain, half of whose food and more than half of total raw materials must be imported.

The latter type of economy is inevitably aggressive, and demands highly centralised political, financial, economic and military power, in contrast to the Gandhian economy which is essentially non-violent in its very nature.

J. C. Kumarappa describes the Gandhian economy in highly figurative language. His books are reports of his lectures, and so tend to be repetitive, which may be an advantage in dealing with an economy which stands in such sharp contrast with our own.

WILFRED WELLOCK.

Letters to the Editor

Evidence, please, Miss Anscombe

MISS ANSCOMBE thinks that traditional warfare is a great evil, but that the massacre of a civil population is a monstrous evil. She argues that pacifists have helped to weaken the ability to distinguish between the great evil and the monstrous evil. Therefore pacifism is a harmful doctrine.

The most obvious objection to Miss Anscombe's argument is that it simply isn't borne out by the facts. My impression during the last war was that people who had been influenced by pacifism were more likely to join the campaign for stopping night-bombing than to press vigorously for unconditional surrender. Miss Anscombe may deny that this impression is accurate, but if she does she will have to produce some evidence.

GEOFFREY CARNALL.

53 Chesterton Road, Cambridge.

By which standard?

IN your report (June 22, page 6) of the meeting at Brighton's Royal Pavilion, you say that the Bishop of Chichester, Dr. G. K. A. Bell, described hydrogen and atomic bombs as "morally indefensible" but "did not agree that this country should abandon its bombs altogether in advance of proof of similar action by other possible possessors."

This is tantamount to saying: "We know these bombs are the work of the devil, but we should not stop doing the devil's work until others stop doing it." It is curious to hear a high dignitary of the church advocating the regulation of conduct by the standards of the devil.

EDEN PEACOCK.

London, S.W.4.

Challenge to pacifists

ALTHOUGH I have now become a pacifist, I was held back for some months because I found pacifist theories unable or unwilling to deal with questions which have perplexed me. This same absence of answer actually antagonises people on many occasions.

Pacifism and in particular pacifist organisations fail to attract people because they are negative and offer only vague theorising. This alone is not enough. Until pacifism shows a clear and positive alternative, the pacifists will continue to be a small body of self-satisfied nonentities.

Pacifism today in the main only collects those who despair all other methods of avoiding war yet are not complete cynics. This "faith" gives no alternatives to those who hate war but who are incapable of working out for themselves ways of avoiding it.

Pacifism is not understood because it is seeking to take away instead of to replace. Further it is wrapped in a deep fog of obscure history travelling backwards from Gandhi, which would be valuable in its place but cannot stand alone.

The classic case of the failure of pacifism is in the left-wing movement. Pacifists are to most left-wingers at best a bunch of idealistic cranks living in a vacuum—which for the most part is quite true.

Socialists share pacifists' hatred of war but are not shown how to avoid it. For example, the Pacifist movement is not guiding Socialists or training leaders to act in the case of a violent counter-revolution seeking to overthrow a peaceful Socialist revolution.

Why not? Because pacifists are too busy denouncing war and squabbling about opposition to war, instead of fighting war with suggestions and ideas on its avoidance.

S. D. Smith (PN, May 25) thinks that pacifists have at least "a beautiful theory." That's rubbish. Mere denunciation is not even that. Pacifists are so involved with their negative aims that they have sapped the potential life blood from the movement.

Pacifists should be leading the world with their up-to-date and vital suggestions, not submerged in quagmire of insignificance.

The ideas that do exist should be collected and publicised—not left to float away. Discussion on active pacifism must be stimulated and the ideas produced brought to the notice of the general public instead of being discreetly hidden.

How can the rank-and-file pacifist advocate her faith to others when offering nothing more than opposition to war? We need to be furnished with knowledge of the practice of non-violence and only then can we go out and preach our doctrines of peace.

PHOEBE MERRICK.

5 Horbury Cres.,
London, W.11.

Avenue Marc Sangnier

FURTHER to the article on the late Marc Sangnier in Peace News, June 1, the Paris "Figaro" of the same date has this note:

"Tomorrow, the Avenue Marc Sangnier, a new street in Paris, will be opened. Homage will thus be paid to this true Parisian. A son of Paris, his grandfather was a barrister and his great grandfather an Academician.

As a student, he edited the college paper, obtained first prize in philosophy, made brilliant law studies, and passed into the Polytechnique.

"His devotion to freedom and social justice found expression in the creation of the 'Sillon' and of the 'Jeune Republique.' Long MP for Paris, he was arrested in 1944 with the editorial staff of his paper 'Démocratie' and was imprisoned. At the liberation, he became honorary president of the People's Republicans.

"From 1930, he was a supporter of the Youth Hostel movement, turning his own château at Bierville into an International Centre of Peace."

As I translate this, Marc's hymn of Peace "Peuple debout" rings in my ears, as it will for ever in the memory of all who sang it with him.

HARRY MOORE.

97 College Rd., Isleworth.

A child's life of Gandhi

He becomes a leader

Last week we read how Gandhi arrived in South Africa and found that the Indians there were very cruelly treated: they had to work terribly hard for very low wages while the best hotels, restaurants and places of amusement were for white people only. He determined to stay in South Africa in order to help his fellow Indians.

THE next day Gandhi continued on his journey to Pretoria. Part of the way had to be made in a stage coach in those days. A stage coach was something like a big bus drawn by horses.

Gandhi had now fresh insults and worse to bear.

He had already bought his ticket for a seat in the stage coach when the guard told him to sit outside with the driver. This was because the European passengers did not like to travel together with Indians. Gandhi obeyed this rude command because he was in a hurry to get on with his journey and did not want to waste any time in arguing.

After the coach had been travelling for a few hours, however, the guard wanted to have Gandhi's seat outside, in order to enjoy some fresh air. But instead of offering his own seat in exchange he rudely threw a dirty gunny bag on the footboard and said: "You sit on this."

This was too much. Gandhi refused absolutely.

The cruel man at once began to beat him and curse him.

Seeing that poor Gandhi had done no harm, some of the European passengers began to take his part and made the man stop beating him.

Shameful things like this happened often in South Africa in those days, and Gandhi was to have many such bitter experiences.

When he went to the hotel the manager would not give him a room. In another hotel, although he got a room, he was not allowed to eat in the dining room with the other people.

These things never made him lose patience. They only made him more determined to make his countrymen respected in South Africa.

GANDHI had only come to spend a year in South Africa, but it was three years before he returned home.

There was so much work to be done for his countrymen and there was no one, it seemed, with the courage to do it, but himself. He lost no time in making the acquaintance of the leading Indians in South Africa and in discussing with them what was to be done.

He made them see that it was disgraceful to sit idle while rich plantation owners treated thousands of poor Indian labourers like slaves. His burning words awakened a sense of national pride and duty even in the laziest and most indifferent hearts.

His first great step was to point out that all communities of Indians must unite if they wanted to be strong, and safe from insult in this foreign land. Hindus, Muslims, Sikhs, Parsees, Christians—all must become brothers in the struggle that was to begin.

In a few short months the shy young man had become the brave and fearless leader of thousands of oppressed Indians. It was as if God had chosen him to be His captain in the struggle for India's freedom, and had filled his heart overnight with the courage of a lion.

AS TOLD BY GERTRUDE MURRAY TO THE CHILDREN OF INDIA

In his fight for the rights of Indians, Gandhi could not bear to see any of them *deserve* the scorn with which they were treated. It pained him terribly to see how many Indians had become careless, untidy and dirty in their habits. He lectured them continually about this. He told them they must never give others the slightest excuse to look down on them.

THERE were many unjust laws against Indians in South Africa at that time. These laws made life very difficult for the Indians. Gandhi fought against all these laws with all his strength, and taught his followers how to fight against them too.

Only on one point he was very strict: everything must be done peacefully. He had already chosen for himself the path of non-violence in all things and he felt that it was the only path pleasing to God.

In order to bring the South African Indians permanently together he founded a political party known as the Natal Indian Congress. It was named after the political party in India which was already the hope of all patriotic Indians. This party worked to make life better for *all* Indians, no matter what their community or religion was.

It also worked to make India free, but in those days this seemed a very far-off hope. The members of Gandhi's new party were to work to make life better for all Indians in South Africa.

NEXT WEEK: *The Obstinate Rich Man.*

I RENOUNCE WAR AND I WILL NEVER SUPPORT OR SANCTION ANOTHER
This pledge, signed by each member, is the basis of the Peace Pledge Union.
Send YOUR pledge to
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MADAGASCAR AND THE GANDHI ROAD TO FREEDOM

NOT long ago I sat in a small office in a two-storied building in Tananarive, the capital of Madagascar, talking to a newspaper editor. Outside the shuttered window were tall jacarandas, loaded with violet blossom, shading a fine bronze statue of Gallieni, the French general who "pacified" the island just fifty years ago.

The editor was Gabriel Razafintsalama, who controls an outspoken weekly paper published in the Malagasy language, with its leading articles in French. Physically, he was a typical member of the Merina people who had unified and ruled the island during the hundred years 1795–1895.

His hair was long and straight, his complexion light brown, rather like that of a Malay, and his eyes were friendly and intelligent. His surname means "Son of Peace."

By

PATRICK DUNCAN *

MR. PATRICK DUNCAN, son of Sir Patrick Duncan, the first South African-born Governor General of the Union, was the first white South African to join the non-violent resistance campaign against apartheid in South Africa in December 1952. He had resigned from government service in Basutoland in order to do so.

On Monday, December 8, 1952, together with six other Europeans and a number of Africans and Indians—including the late Manilal Gandhi, son of Mahatma Gandhi—he entered the African location of Germiston, near Johannesburg.

To his crutches—he had been involved in a motor accident—he had tied the colours of the Defiance Movement.

Within a few minutes a crowd of about 1,000 Africans joined the group, and Mr. Duncan started to hold a meeting in contravention of the order passed the month before which made it an offence to incite Africans, or to hold a meeting of more than 10 Africans.

Speaking in both English and Basuto—the language of Basutoland—Mr. Duncan said, "Today South African people of all kinds have come among you. They have come with love for you and peace. I ask you to do what you have to do without making trouble, but in the spirit of love, Mayihuye Africa." (Come back Africa.)

A procession was started but police cars blocked the road, and the whole of the party which had entered the location were arrested. Among the Europeans were Miss Freda Troup, author of "In Place of Fear," a biography of Michael Scott.

Patrick Duncan was fined £100 or 100 days hard labour.

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Summing up the reasons for the stand he was taking, he stated that non-violent methods "that do not threaten their [the oppressing group's] lives, property, or future" can attract the best individuals from the other side, melt the oppressor's heart and produce a solution which "reconciles the parties," combining the good in each. "It is the only hope for the world."

Colonialism destroys dignity

He spoke of the forced labour which was exacted until abolished by law in 1946, of its survival in outlying districts even to day, of the lack of democratic institutions, of the destruction of the historic kingdom and civilisation evolved by his people under the old Merina monarchy.

"And yet," he said, "we do not forget that we owe many material advances to the French. But man does not live by bread alone—one of his most fundamental needs is self-respect.

"And colonialism, whatever its advantages may be, always destroys the dignity of the colonial peoples."

I asked him if, when freedom came, the people would wish to go back to the old monarchy. He said: "No, that was a feudal regime and not suitable for the present day. We need a democratic republican regime today."

When I had earlier asked French friends to introduce me to Malagasy friends they begged me to act with extreme discretion. One businessman told me that he did not dare speak about the Government in front of his Malagasy employees, as he knew that his works were full of spies, ready to report and distort any remark to the Surete.

Clearly the severe police repression that followed the 1947 rebellion had not yet ended.

Dark memories of 1947 revolt

I found the shadow of this rebellion over everyone in this lovely island. We motored with French friends past a village, Sabotsy-Namehana.

"That is where a policeman who was assaulted killed two of his assailants. Their funeral started riots and began the troubles that led up to the rebellion."

We passed another village, Manjakandriana. "That is where a church was burnt in 1947," and so on.

The Malagasy, a gentle people of mixed Asian and Polynesian origin, are apparently submissive and this has misled the French at times into a belief that they could be harshly treated with impunity. Since the conquest of the capital in 1895 there have been four major outbreaks of rebellion, but much the most important was that which began on March 29, 1947.

During and after World War II local grievances had mounted. The constant devaluation of the franc caused general hardship, particularly among the labouring class. To try to combat inflation the Government held the price of rice paid to the grower down to Fr. 1.25 per kilo. When after much agitation this control was removed the price soared to Fr. 12 per kilo.

This meant that the peasant-producer had been getting only *one-tenth* of the market value of his staple crop.

Forced labour

But the severest complaint of the war years was the increasing scale of forced labour exacted by the Government.

The nationalists have estimated that in one year four million days' norms—which they say means about eight million actual days on the job, as the "norms" were rarely completed in one day—were exacted by the Government from a peasant population of only 700,000 (the total population is 4,500,000).

When the war ended there was a general hope of political freedom.

Malagasy conscripts in the French Army had learnt that the war was being fought for the Atlantic Charter, for freedom. Culturally, the Malagasy were closer to the Asian nations who were fast achieving their freedom than to the nearby African colonies.

This hope found expression in over 35 eager nationalist newspapers which started appearing in the capital alone (population 200,000).

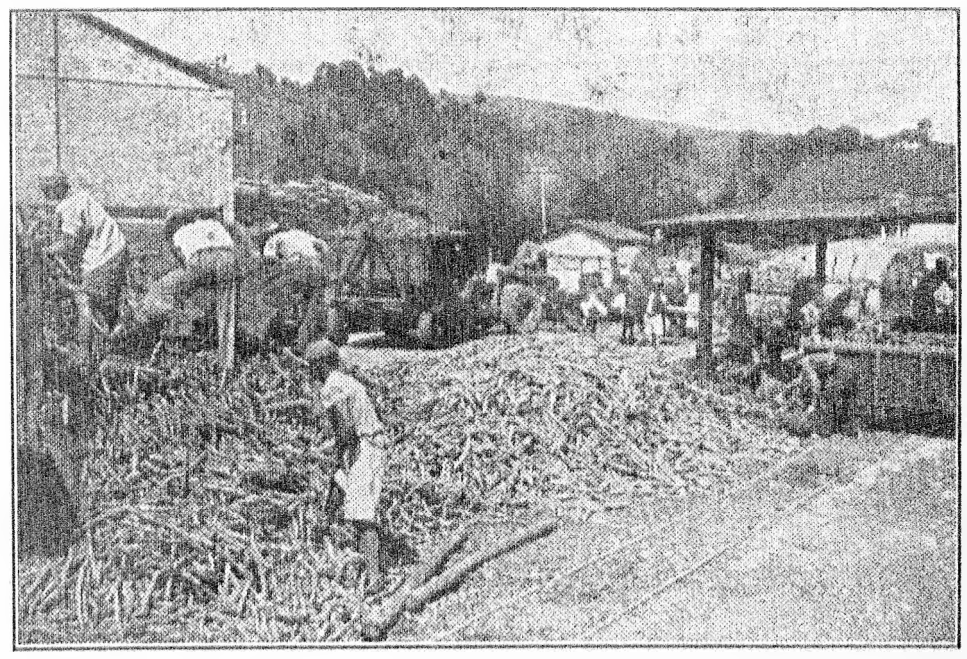
All that was needed to start trouble was a weak Government, and this the island got when High Commissioner de Coppet landed in the island in May, 1946.

His policy wobbled between the French settlers and the nationalists, and his reliance on the police was sufficient to provoke, but insufficient to repress, disorders. The temper of the people grew ugly.

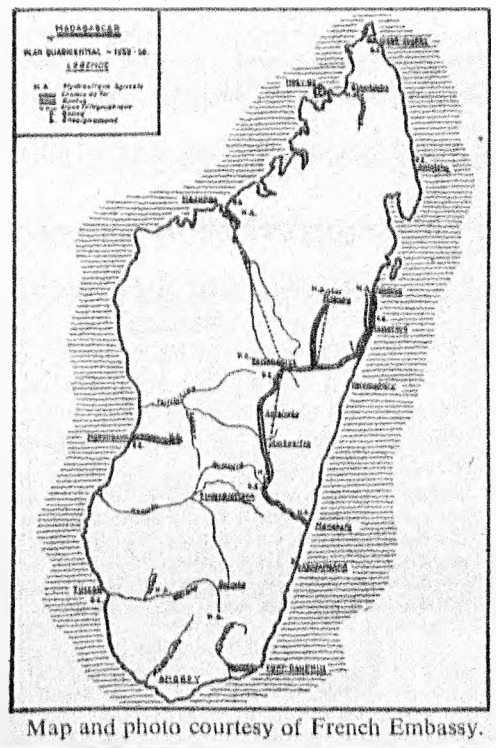
Estimates 20,000 dead

In March, 1947, the Mouvement Democratique de la Renovation Malagache (MDRM), the principal nationalist group, sent a telegram round the island appealing for calm. The police suspect that the message was in truth a code message appealing for revolution, not calm.

Be that as it may, the rising began in widely isolated places on the night of March 29-30, and several French settlers were murdered and their farms pillaged.



Unloading manioc. Ground into flour this forms an important part of the Malagasy's diet.



Map and photo courtesy of French Embassy.

Disorder continued for over a year, and when all was over about 100 Europeans and a large number of Malagasy had been killed. Estimates vary between 10,000 and 100,000 of Malagasy dead, but a probable figure would be 20,000.

The rebellion did not shake the determination of the French to hold the colony, but their policy has changed. It is now a combination of (a) maximum economic and social advance, to steal the thunder of the nationalists, with (b) an efficient police and military system of government.

Before 1947 there were only 800 troops in this island (which is considerably larger than France, 228,000 sq. miles to 213,000 sq. miles) and in 1947 tribes hostile to the Merina had to be armed to help suppress the rising.

Now there are impressive African and French (not Malagasy) garrisons at all strategic points, equipped with modern weapons and vehicles and kept at a high level of discipline.

And then there is the Surete which, from its red-brick H.Q. next to the High Commissioner's residence, watches the whole situation with a Beria-like thoroughness.

In prison

Ever since the outbreak a large number of nationalists have been in prison. Six of the principal leaders were condemned to death on October 4, 1948, but their sentences were commuted, and they are at present imprisoned in the fortress at Calvi, in Corsica.

They are Ravoahangy, who has spent the greater part of the last 40 years in prison;

● ON PAGE EIGHT

Patrick Duncan has enlarged this article especially for Peace News. An earlier version originally appeared in Toward Freedom in March.

People who make music together

By MARGARET BROOKS

FOR a week last summer the Press enjoyed a brief holiday from Security Police, crime, Teddy-boys, and the banking up of East-West tension. People of many nations met for the International Musical Eisteddfod at Llangollen.

This year's festival begins on July 10.

Last summer glorious sunshine blessed the little town in the valley of the swift-flowing Dee. There were folks, young and old, and in-between, picnicking under the trees, trooping after gay clusters of dancers over the wondrous bridge and up the street.

One felt that here were folks blissfully, unceremoniously, and quite religiously making a fairy—a wicked fairy—tale of all the official East-West set-up.

Creating, these strolling, jostling, laughing men, women and children, a vision of what man in brotherhood might achieve in bringing the Kingdom to earth.

In fact what time is there for thoughts of war once one is a music-maker, a singer or a dancer, and all the ripe promise of life is there for fulfilling?

The journalists of the North of England were as enthusiastic as they dared to be under the approaching shadow of the Summit Conference.

*

To Wales and to Llangollen must go the credit for showing a torn and fearful world that music is a symbol of human aspiration, grief, joy, repentance, and not an isolated art. Music is a contribution to life for all men—from lullaby, dance, worship, and choral song of unity, to separation, loss and soul- stirring lament.

Music is not to numb the senses but to awaken them. Without awareness, what appreciation can there be of life, or likelihood of gratitude?

So to Llangollen for ten years now have sojourned singers, instrumentalists, dancers. It is good to know that a sparkling company with their castanets still come from the Spanish Department of Education and Leisure, still bewitching all beholders as they did in that memorable year of the first musical festival of Llangollen.

Ohio State University sent dancers and choirs: male, female, mixed and youth. Their famed Symphonic Choir came straight from a European tour.

Les Sans Souci de Lille with their expressive "L'lundi d'Pâques" and "L'Bière du Nord" were much admired. The Hungarian Workers' Choir hitch-hiked from Budapest, giving concerts all the way to Wales. This choir also was in at the first festival.

Sweden sent her fair Damkören Pro Musica from Stockholm.

Estonians in the gayest of embroidered costumes danced to the zither and the fiddle.

Lars Maeland conducted the Stavanger Blandet Kor from Norway.

Yaroslav Babuniak brought his Homin Male Voice Choir from the Ukraine.

European wandering songs were contributed by the Junger Singkreis Leverkusen of Germany. Wisbech Little Theatre children's choir is reported to have raised its travelling expenses by fruit-picking.

Maesteg Grammar-school Choir, the Silurian Singers of Brecon, Pontypridd YMCA Youth Choir were there together with the Sligo Singers of Ireland and the Chor der Gewerkschaftsjugend of Vienna.

Portugal, the Netherlands, Belgium, Yugoslavia, Italy, Scotland, Northern Ireland, Latvia and Georgia (USA) were among the contestants who made their contributions to the success of this ninth International Festival.

Purely a musical Festival, not bardic, not political, insisted the journalists of North of England newspapers, who gave generously of their space for programme and illustrated story.

A. K. Holland, of the Liverpool Daily Post, writing of the Youth Choirs' sturdy rendering of Thomas Pitfield's "Song of Unity," reminded that it was based on the affirmation of Hindemith that "People who make music together cannot be enemies."

★

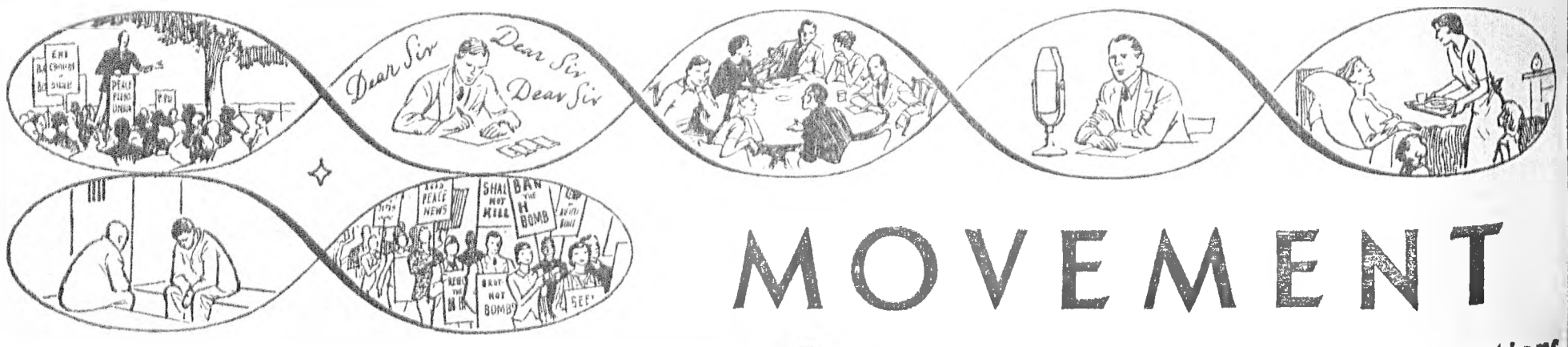
In the souvenir programme, Mr. J. Rhys Roberts, chairman of the Eisteddfod Council and Executive Committee, wrote, "In the houses of our town and neighbouring villages, our overseas guests will experience that warm Welsh hospitality for which our nation is famous.

"On the Eisteddfod ground and in the streets, they will exchange greetings with people whose dearest wish is to live at peace with all mankind."

He concluded: "The success of the International Eisteddfod is due to this spirit of service, where all work as a team inspired by the purpose for which the festival was instituted—world peace and international friendship."

So one felt after a day—the International Folk Music day—that each year's meeting of the 24 distinct cultures of people will indeed be something more than just a musical festival.

It was another courageous milestone on the way and a lamp lit for the spiritual and the practical and the mixed many who know when a thing is lovely and of good report.



MOVEMENT

A Peace News survey of organisations

CD v PPU: A DEBATE THAT MIGHT HAVE BEEN

ELTHAM PEACE PLEDGE UNION members and some members of the local **Civil Defence Corps** were enthusiastic about holding a debate, but the **Town Clerk** said "No," and what might have proved a very interesting meeting between the two parties did not take place.

Bill Salthouse of the Eltham group of the PPU, describing how the idea came about, told Peace News, "A short time ago, one of our members was by chance engaged in a conversation with a member of the local Civil Defence Corps, and the conversation drifted towards pacifism and related subjects, and the suggestion of a debate between the Eltham PPU and the Civil Defence Corps was thought to be a good thing by both parties."

The idea then had to go before the next CD committee.

The PPU were then informed that although most of those present at the meeting were in favour, the Town Clerk, who presided, decided that nothing useful would be gained by such a debate. The Committee, however, offered to send a speaker on Civil Defence to the PPU group!

Bill Salthouse then wrote to the Town Clerk expressing disappointment, and requesting a reason for the decision.

He was answered, ". . . the primary duty of Civil Defence is to train volunteers in the principles of Civil Defence . . .

"The task of obtaining sufficient volunteers is a very difficult one indeed . . . and requires all the efforts of the existing organisation. To engage in extraneous discussions of the kind mentioned in your letter would detract from the main purpose, and it is not a function of Civil Defence to engage in discussions or activities which are not likely to increase the efficiency of the Corps.

"If the present invitation were accepted it might form an unfortunate precedent . . ."

SERVAS MEET AT ABBE PIERRE'S H.Q.

From PAT KNOWLES

IN view of their interest in Social and International Problems, it was fitting that this year's **Servas** Conference should be held at the Auberge Emmaûs, the house at which the **Abbé Pierre** first began his now world-famous work for the homeless and destitute of **Paris.**

From this "base" it was possible for the delegates to see a good deal of his work at first hand—to meet individuals who had been helped, and to visit some of the housing schemes which had been initiated by this community.

It is this opportunity of first hand personal study that Servas stresses. This year's work has seen developments of the travel system in many countries, particularly in the far east, but its chief value is still that it caters first for the individual.

Ove Dybakaer, the Danish Secretary, welcoming visitors explained something of how the system worked and how it is based on personal contacts.

Other speakers showed how it could help travellers of many different types, first the younger traveller, who could gain much merely from the opportunity to travel in another land, to speak another language and, by staying with families, to learn a little of their way of life, to compare differences and similarities, and to make friends.

For the already experienced traveller, it offered a different experience, the opportunity to meet others with similar vocations or interests, to exchange ideas and to study more specifically.

There is also a third group, those "peace-builders" who have more than a superficial concern to study social and international problems, who seek new ways of working for international peace in constructive work. These people may be few but they represent the highest achievement of the system.

A distinguished guest at the conference was **Madeline Rousseau,** whose progressive ideas are as well known in France as are her talents in the artistic field.

In her address, she stressed that true education can have a wider scope and a greater relevance to life, if we are continually re-examining our ideas about what we have to teach, how we teach it and who is capable of learning.

Servas in England is at c/o Vera Willington, 13 Wendover Rd., Birmingham 23.

"No-conscription" speech wins school prize

From B. J. BANNER

A SPEECH on the "Challenge of Conscription" given by a pupil, **David R. Fraser,** won the Dymond Speech Competition held recently at **Sidcot (Quaker) School in Somerset.**

The prize is awarded annually for a speech made by a senior pupil to the school audience. The subject matter is chosen by the speaker himself, who is also at liberty to choose his audience as he wishes. At the close of the speech, questions are welcomed and answered by the speaker.

David Fraser's speech stimulated a lively interest in the subject, and brought a number of questions from his audience. He based his general opposition to conscription on his interpretation of the Christian faith, and his replies to questions proved that he had given his subject a great amount of thought.

Living, learning and working together

AT the **Beatrice Webb House, Holmbury St. Mary, near Dorking, Surrey,** on the week-end of October 5 to 7 this year, the **Iona Education Centre** will be holding a Conference, the theme of which will be "Living, Learning and Working together."

Delegates, representatives or observers from **Parent Teacher Associations** and from **educational, social** and **religious organisations** may attend.

The Iona Education Centre, which is a voluntary movement in further education for the study of normal human development in the social family pattern, was founded in 1944, and is non-political and non-sectarian.

Prevention by education is the main work of this Centre; the prevention of personality disorders and of unhappy family and social conflicts and problems, by means of education.

Iona Education Centre is at 10—12 Exhibition Road, South Kensington, S.W.7.

Two strokes with cane only

AN unheeded plea for the abolition of corporal punishment for schoolgirls was made recently at a meeting of **Essex Education Committee.**

Refering to the **Society of Friends (Quakers)** school at **Saffron Waldon, Mr. S. S. Wilson** said that there had been no corporal punishment there for over 60 years. "Beating will be abolished," he said, "just as hanging will be abolished sooner or later."

No action was taken on the requests to stop the caning of girls, but it was decided that in future girls must not be caned by male teachers, and that the use of the cane will be limited to two strokes.

Will defence use non-violent resistance?

A DISCLOSURE was made by a member of the US Air Force during a discussion which followed a speech by **Cecil Hinshaw** at the **University of Oregon.**

The Air Force man said that in an Air Force Manual is a passage to the effect that the usefulness of military approaches to national defence is running out, and that increasingly it is necessary to think in terms of psychological and spiritual approaches to international tensions.

Cecil Hinshaw is a free-lance lecturer, world traveller, and a former President of William Penn College. He is Secretary-Designate for Peace Education in the **American Friends Service Committee** in nine Mid-western states.

His engagement with the University of Oregon was part of a two month pacifist campaign which he is leading in the Far West.

Earlier, the same Air Force man had said that although he could not speak for the Air Force, he could say for himself that for some time he had been thinking along the lines of Hinshaw's presentation.

This led Hinshaw to observe that he had found members of the armed forces reassuringly receptive to the non-violent approach to national defence.

BLACK SASHES IN LONDON

LAST Wednesday, a deputation of MP's presented a Memorial at Africa House. It was addressed to Mr. Strydom, the Prime Minister of South Africa.

It was signed by delegates to the National Conference on South Africa and the Protectorates (called by the **Movement for Colonial Freedom**) which met at **Beaver Hall, London,** on June 9.

It said that the group were conscious that as British citizens, they had a heavy responsibility for the intolerance, injustice, and suppression which exists now in our own colonial territories; that they face this responsibility, and their efforts would not cease until political, social and economic justice is obtained for all.

"But we address ourselves to you, Sir, as representing the **Union of South Africa,** where this problem is particularly acute," it read.

"We appeal to you in the name of our common humanity to realise that your present policy, based as it is on racial discrimination and segregation can end only in universal disaster.

"We know, full well, that the whites in the Union who support you do so because of fear of African domination. We submit to you and to them that it is your policy which will, in the long run, transform this fear into reality.

"Oppression breeds violence.

"It is not too late for your country to transform this policy. The eyes of Africans all over the Continent are turned upon you. The treatment meted out to non-whites in South Africa will be the touchstone for future efforts at genuine friendship and co-operation between Africans and Europeans.

"If we do not create trust and friendship what future can there be but race antagonism and the threat of bloodshed?"

Signatories to the Memorial included: **Frank Allaun, MP, Joyce Butler, MP, Fenner Brockway, MP, James Callaghan, MP, Alfred Cullen, MP, Ernest Fernyhough, MP, F. J. Finch, MP, Joseph Grimond, MP, Anthony Greenwood, MP, Tom Hubbard, MP, Jennie Lee, MP, Roy Mason, MP, W. J. Owen, MP, A. F. Palmer, MP, Goronway Roberts, MP, Rev. E. Redhead, MP, Julius Silverman, MP, R. W. Sorensen, MP, Bernard Taylor, MP, Wedgwood Benn, MP, Canon L. John Collins, R. E. Woof, MP, Victor Yates, MP, A. Gerald Gardiner, QC, Mrs. Frida Laski and representatives of many religious organisations, women's organisations, LP branches, Liberal Parties, Trades Councils, Trade Unions, Women's Co-op Guilds, etc., etc.**

Black Sashes

During the afternoon members of the Movement for Colonial Freedom and their friends who wished to be associated with the Memorial, called at South Africa House, leaving signed copies of the document. They wore Black Sashes, as do members of the **Black Sash Movement in South Africa** who are all European women. In England, those wearing the Black Sash include men as well as women, and they represent many different races.

Around and about Britain

When students taught tutors

THE **Methodist Peace Fellowship** within **Hartley Victoria College, Manchester** during their college year showed the film "Children of Hiroshima" to fellow-students and members of the tutorial staff. After the film, students and tutors alike were concerned and disturbed by what they had seen.

The MPF has small numbers at the College, but their effectiveness is far greater. At the beginning of this year, when **Harold Guite,** of the **International Fellowship of Reconciliation,** addressed the college, 80 per cent of the students attended.

Recently, the **Rev. Bernard Jones, MA, BD,** gave two scholarly lectures on "Christian Pacifism."

Where "Caravanners" meet

THE **Caravan of Great Britain** meets at **84 St. Thomas's Road, Finsbury Park, London, N.4,** every Monday (except the first in the month) for serious discussions on the principles of the movement. Every Thursday it holds a Linguists Group, and every Saturday they are "at home" at 7.30 p.m. They have regular meetings in **London, Southend,** and **Newcastle.**

The autobiography of their Founder-President, **Mrs. Lewis Stuyvesant Chanler,** "From Gaslight to Dawn" has recently been published, and a tape recording of extracts is available. **John Snow** is the Chairman of the Caravan of Great Britain.

Christians, atoms and morals

AT a meeting organised by the **Leeds** members of the **Anglican Pacifist Fellowship, Dr. Feltham** of **Leeds Nuclear Energy Committe** spoke on "Atomic Energy; what it is, and what it can be made to do." The lecture was attended by some non-pacifists.

At a further meeting, **Mr. Walter Stein** spoke on "Atoms and Morals." A third meeting is planned, and interested people should contact **Miss K. C. Lupton, 19 Hodgson Crescent, Moortown, Leeds 17,** for details.

Keep it up, Eccles!

THE Goons, those crazy nitwits who feature in a British radio comedy series, are constantly shouting, "Shut up, Eccles!" to a timid-voiced, slightly(?) mentally retarded individual with that strange name.

We shall not follow suit. **Eccles, near Manchester,** has our encouragement.

Philip Smith and Family—the "Family" part is very important, are very active peace-workers.

The daughters recently made toffee, and profits from the sale of it went to Peace News fund. **Mrs. Smith** seized the opportunity of selling the paper outside a local cinema when the film "Escapade" was shown there. And the whole family helped with the selling of Peace News outside a Manchester cinema when "Children of Hiroshima" was shown there, and again, outside a public meeting, when **Father Trevor Huddleston** was speaking there.

The local **Society of Friends (Quakers)** of which the Smith family are members have a Peace Poster displayed on Eccles Railway station.

Mr. Smith writes, "We are always present at the Annual March against War organised by the **Manchester United Peace Fellowship** to which we are attached." And, en route (you've guessed it), the family sell Peace News!

Twenty-six pinholes

TO make known their opposition to the manufacture and testing of H-bombs **Glasgow Quakers** were urged to distribute copies of "A Call to Christian Action."

Angus Stewart, of **5 Park Quadrant,** attached a copy to the telephone account when making payment on behalf of the Quaker Meeting.

The leaflet was returned by the Post Office with the receipt three days later. It contained 26 pinholes!

Daniel Watson has been appointed distributor of Peace News for the Quaker Meeting. In his first week he sold four copies, in his second nine, and in his third ten.

Old Age Pensioners did it

TWENTY-TWO sackfuls of clothing have been collected in **Merthyr Tydfil, South Wales** for the **Oxford Famine Committee.**

This remarkable achievement is the work of **Mr. and Mrs. Sellek,** two Old Age Pensioners, one of whom was a conscientious objector in World War I. Mrs. Sellek also collects foreign stamps for the **War Resisters International.**

At work in a "New Town"

ONE of the "new" towns, **Crawley** in **Sussex,** has a **Peace Fellowship** comprised of members of the **Fellowship of Reconciliation, Methodist Peace Fellowship, Anglican Peace Fellowship** and the **Society of Friends.** Finding meetings were poorly attended, a different method of presenting the pacifist view had to be tried.

Richard Robinson told Peace News, "We now invite local churches, political and trade groups to send a few of their members to our united groups to tell us why they cannot accept the pacifist viewpoint.

"This method has already brought us one active worker, and it has set other people thinking about the problems of peace and war."

LETTERS TO OTHER EDITORS

IN Peace News, June 22, we published some addresses of overseas newspapers, to which Letters-to-the-Editor may be written on matters concerning peace. Below, we publish another selection:

Bermudian, Bermudian Publishing Co., Hamilton, Bermuda, West Indies.

L'Echo D'Oran, 6 Rue de l'Hotel de Ville, Oran, Algeria.

Young Malayans, 15 Perak Rd., Kuala Lumpur, Malaya.

Evening Chronicle, K.S. Gupta, Mail Office, New Delhi, India.

Gibraltar Chronicle, Gibraltar Garrison Library Committee, 2 Library Gardens, Gibraltar.

T REPORT

and people working for a warless world

Police threaten pacifist leader with jail

Austrian call-up law denounced

"Of all the countries which grant some form of legal recognition to conscientious objectors, I believe the Austrian law to be the worst," declared Arlo Tatum, Secretary of the War Resisters' International in Vienna on June 15.

He was addressing a public meeting at the Festsaal Des Alten Rathauses, held following police threats to arrest the Chairman of the Austrian Section of the WRI.

Frau Luise Eisenmenger-Micko, the Chairman, told the audience that the previous day she had received an express letter from the Chief of Police of Vienna, threatening her with imprisonment should she continue to advise men to refuse army duty and become pacifists.

"I am not afraid," she declared in her opening remarks at the public meeting. "I shall continue to speak out and urge individuals to join our pacifist ranks."

Arlo Tatum also made a point of urging men to refuse to be conscripted and to become pacifists.

Arlo Tatum had referred to the awful plight of war resisters in France, Spain, Italy and the Communist countries. He then called on the audience to press for drastic revision of the Austrian Military Law which gives war resisters only the "right" to unarmed duty in the army.

Applause, mingled with boos and hisses, greeted this denunciation of the Austian conscription law.

Mixed audience

Over 300 persons attended the meeting to hear Arlo Tatum and Professor Johannes Ude, WRI Council member. The mixed audience included two members of the Austrian Parliament, six heckling youths from a group described as neo-fascist, and several representatives of the World Peace Council, as well as the expected main body of pacifists.

Professor Ude, 83-year-old Catholic priest, spoke vigorously for the Christian pacifist position, assuring the audience that Christianity and pacifism were inseparable.

Mr. Tatum and Miss Joyce Runham Brown, daughter of the founder of the WRI, recently returned to London from a nine day visit to Austria on behalf of the War Resister' International.

In Salzburg they conferred with Herr Albert Birkle, nationally famous artist and recently elected Vice-Chairman of the WRI's Austrian section. Ferdinand Wessiak, a newspaper editor and keen pacifist, attended the discussion on how a pacifist group might be formed there.

Innsbruck can boast of only a half-dozen pacifists and four attended their first "meeting" called by Herbert Zangerl. Despite their lack of numbers, Arlo Tatum predicted a war resisters' group and activities would be established in Innsbruck.

Graz, the second largest city in Austria, has a Fellowship of Reconciliation group which meets with fair regularity at the home of Frau Henny Schwarz, a remarkably energetic "Quaker Granny," as she likes to describe herself.

War resister Ferdinand Gross, obtained her assistance in arranging a WRI meeting.

Twenty-two persons turned out, including some who have not attended such a meeting since before the war. Alois Zahrashnik, an official of the pre-war WRI Section, has agreed to call the group together again in an effort to re-establish an active organisation.

After the Vienna public meeting, the twenty "hard core" members of the WRI met with Arlo Tatum to exchange information and ideas for further action.

Both Joyce Runham Brown whose knowledge of German proved indespensable, and Arlo returned to London deeply impressed by the work being done under the leadership of the fascinating Frau Eisenmenger-Micko, whose stormy attack on injustice, militarism, the government, and persons in high places makes her the centre of continuous controversy in both pacifist and non-pacifist circles.

African Co-existence Conference

THIS month a National Conference on National and International Co-existence and Co-operation takes place in **South Africa.** It gives particular emphasis to the African continent.

Mr. J. Baker of P.O. Box 5962, Johannesburg, writes that he would like help and encouragement from South African white people.

●

To express their service motives above and beyond the call of duty, conscientious objectors granted conditional exemptions in Kansas City are performing humanitarian work outside of their conditional employment in hospitals, etc. They are voluntarily cleaning and painting rooms, moving people, giving blood and helping needy families.

●

Conscientious Objectors in the USA may have their demonstration activities curtailed if Bill H.R. 4922 is approved by Congress.

This Bill bars picketing in the immediate vicinity of the White House.

THIS article, which appeared recently in the Gospel Messenger, American journal of the *Church of the Brethren*, tells of the rebuilding of the Vienna School by a group of young conscientious objectors who undertook this work as an alternative to military service.

Originally, the article appeared in an April number of The Stars and Stripes, the daily publication of the United States Army.

This project in Vienna has received much favourable comment in both the US military press and the Austrian press.

U.S. CONSCIENTIOUS OBJECTORS TEND AUSTRIA'S WAR SCARS

FOURTEEN young Americans, conscientious objectors to military service, are working out their two-year obligation by rebuilding a war-gutted Viennese landmark. They are reconstructing the building which housed the Vienna Evangelical School, once one of the outstanding academic institutions in Austria.

The school building was almost totally destroyed when German troops set it afire to prevent their supplies from falling into the hands of advancing Russian troops.

The Americans are serving in the overseas work branch of the **Church of the Brethren** together with the **European section of the Mennonite Church.**

When the Brethren Service Commission undertook to reconstruct the school building, it was merely a roof and walls. Viennese building inspectors were sceptical about what the "American youngsters" could accomplish with such a shell.

The youths carried away tons of rubble, strengthened weakened walls and pillars, laid bricks, poured cement floors, built a new stairway and airshaft and installed their own living quarters in the building.

Do-it-yourself project

Each part of their work has been inspected and passed by the Viennese building inspectors. And there is no building trade specialist among the Americans.

Unit leader **Jan Thompson, of Ludlow Falls, Ohio,** said: "It's a do-it-yourself project. Each of us watches and learns from the others."

Three-fourths of the group is made up of farm boys with no experience in construction work. Several of them have worked for construction firms during summer months in their home towns.

Only one has studied civil engineering at a university and he still has his last year to finish. The youths get their technical advice from **Reinhold Liebe,** an Austrian engineer.

Thompson said his group never has suffered a work casualty despite the tricky job of installing steel girders and climbing around scaffolding four or five floors above the street.

Under Selective Service regulations, the conscientious objectors work a forty-hour week.

"Most of our spare time is spent working with Vienna's Dead End Kids," Thompson said. "We take many ten-to-fourteen-year-old Viennese boys off the streets week ends and organise regular boy's club's recreational activities for them."

Current plans call for opening the Evangelical School in the autumn of 1957.

Briefly

The Attitude Research Laboratory of St. Louis is offering a limited number of nine-month, tuition-free stipends of 500 dollars each to scientific-minded, peace-concerned students to form the initial nucleus of a peace study college. The address is Theo Lentz, Attitude Research Laboratory, 946 Goodfellow, St. Louis 12, Missouri, USA.

Stockholm's travel bureau of the YMCA is organising study tours to more than 20 countries, including Japan, Thailand, the Philippines and Ethiopia.

The Western Australian branch of the **WILPF** are publishing monthly "Women and Peace," to educate people in peace aims and to spread a knowledge of non-violent methods. It is edited by **Miss Evelyn Rowland, 2 Heasly Street, Beaconsfield, Fremantle,** "I have used many interesting items from Peace News not available otherwise to us out here," she writes.

The Australian questionnaire on voting rights for aborigines reported in Peace News on June 8 was prepared by the **Pan-Pacific and S-E Asia Women's Association,** not by the **Women's International League for Peace and Freedom,** as reported in Peace News on June 8. The WILPF are distributing it.

In a Danish Radio series, "Young People from West Jutland Talking," a CO spoke recently on why he had refused military service.

DIARY

As this is a free service, we reserve the right to select for publication notices sent in. We nevertheless desire to make it as complete a service as we reasonably can, and therefore urge organisers of events to:

1. Send notices to arrive not later than Monday morning.
2. Include: Date, **TOWN, Time, Place** (hall, street); nature of event; speakers, organisers (and secretary's address)

Friday, July 6

BARKING: 8 p.m.; St. Erkenwald's Ch., Ripple Rd., Cannon T. B. Scrutton, "Christian Pacifism." APF.

BELLINGHAM: 7.45 p.m.; 97 King Alfred Avenue, Mary Grigg, "Politics, Pacifism and the Press." Fellowship Party.

Saturday, July 7

BIRMINGHAM: 3 p.m.; Fircroft College, Dennis Tanner: "Human Rights and Freedom." 6 p.m.; Concert. 7 p.m.; Reunion of Conscientious Objectors. All welcome. Adm. 1d. West Midlands Peace Pledge Union.

SALISBURY: 3.15 p.m.; Rechabite Hall, Castle St. Objective Peace Demonstration. 4 p.m. Open-air mtg. in the Market Sq. Stuart Morris and Ian Dixon. 6.30 Any Questions. Panel: Stuart Morris, Hugh Brock, Arthur Bennett, Jack Hickman, Mabel Stamp. Questionmaster: Ernest Davis. Campaign Committee, Peace Pledge Union.

HOOE, SUSSEX: 3 p.m.–6 p.m.; "Hofodunos," invitation of Mr. and Mrs. Barrett. Garden mtg. Sybil Morrison. Stalls, Tea. Panting course. Peace Pledge Union.

Monday, July 9

BRISTOL: 7 p.m.; Guildhall Chambers (Hermes Room), Broad St. I. James Ewart, "Caring for Problem Children." PPU.

LEICESTER: 7.45 p.m.; Friends Mtg. Ho. Queens Rd. Eileen Fletcher, "Kenya." Open mtg. Society of Friends.

Tuesday, July 10

LEEDS. 7.45 p.m.; Armley Wesley Ch. Dr. Donald Soper, and Rev. Eric Bilton, Chair: Rev. L. Temple Jarvis. Methodist Peace Fellowship.

Thursday, July 12

LONDON, W.C.1: 7.30 p.m.; Dick Sheppard Ho., 6 Endsleigh St. Frank Dawtry, "New Ways of Dealing with Crime." Pacifist Youth Action Group.

LEYTONSTONE: 8 p.m.; Friends Mtg. Ho. Bush Rd. A. H. Radcliffe. PPU.

Saturday, July 14

MANCHESTER: 2.30 p.m.; Unitarian College, Victoria Park. Bax Nomvete, MA (South Africa), Gene Sharp, MA (USA), Tom Wardle (Lay Pastor, Stannington), "Colour Bar." Chair: P. C. Whiteman, BA. Social Service Dept. Unitarian and Free Christian Churches.

Wednesday, July 18

BLACKHEATH: 7.45 p.m.; 141 Woolacombe Rd. "Would Disarmament Mean Invasion." Discussion led by Ronald Mallone, BA. Fellowship Party.

Saturday, July 21

BRISTOL: 3 p.m.; Redminster Friends Mtg. Ho. Pacifist demonstration. Tour of City with cars and lorry bearing posters and loud speaker. Offers of help to Will Parkin, 15 Kenmore Crescent, Bristol 7.

SATURDAY-SUNDAY, JULY 21-28

FARNHAM: From 2.30 p.m. Saturday. Moor Park College. Discussion course, No. 140. "A Christian View of Current Affairs, 5. Pacifism." Lecturers: The Rev. Charles Willis, Chaplain to the Forces, the Rev. Canon T. B. Scrutton, Vice-Chairman, Anglican Pacifist Fellowship; Reginald Sorensen, MP, Chairman, National Peace Council, and Eric Baker, General Secretary, National Peace Council.

Saturday, July 28

BANSTEAD: 3–6.30 p.m.; Wayside, Croydon Lane. Garden party. Music, games, bring and buy sale. Pooled edibles. Epsom and District Peace Fellowship.

Sunday, July 22

BIRMINGHAM: 3 p.m.; Fircroft College, Dennis Tanner: "Human Rights and Freedom." 6 p.m.; Concert. 7 p.m.; Reunion of Conscientious Objectors. All welcome. Adm. 1d. West Midlands Peace Pledge Union.

LONDON: 3 p.m.; Hyde Park, Marble Arch. Peace Pledge Union.

LONDON, W.C.1: 11.15–11.45 p.m.; Church Service of Intercession for World Peace conducted by Clergy and laymen of different denominations. St. George the Martyr, Queen St. Weekly lunch-hour service.

LONDON, W.C.1: 7.30 p.m.; Dick Sheppard Ho., 6 Endsleigh St. Pacifist Youth Action Group.

Every week!

FRIDAYS

SHIPLEY: 7.15 p.m.; Shipley Group in new premises in Labour Party Rooms, Westgate, Shipley.

SATURDAYS

LIVERPOOL: 8 p.m.; Pier Head. Open-air mtg. Liverpool and District Peace Board.

SATURDAYS AND SUNDAYS

LONDON: Weekend Workcamps, cleaning and redecorating the homes of old-age pensioners. IVSP, 19 Pembridge Villas, W.11.

SUNDAYS

GLASGOW: Open-air mtg. Queens Pk. Gates, Victoria Rd. 7.45 p.m.; Glasgow PPU.

HYDE PARK: 3 p.m.; Pacifist Youth Action Group. Every Sunday. PYAG.

TUESDAYS

MANCHESTER: 1–2 p.m.; Deansgate Blitz Site. Christian pacifist open-air mtg. Local Methodist ministers and others. MPF.

THURSDAYS

LEYTONSTONE: 8 p.m.; Friends Mtg. Ho., Bush Road.

LONDON, W.C.1: 8.10 and 8.11 Group PPU.

LONDON, W.C.1: 1.15–1.45 p.m.; Church Service of Intercession for World Peace conducted by Clergy and laymen of different denominations. St. George the Martyr, Queen St. Weekly lunch-hour service.

LONDON, W.C.1: 7.30 p.m.; Dick Sheppard Ho., 6 Endsleigh St. Pacifist Youth Action Group.

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MEETINGS

LEEDS PEACE COMMITTEE. Mr. G. Petkos on "The Cyprus Problem: a Cypriot View." 7.30 p.m.; Sunday, July 8. Gt. Northern Hotel.

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Birmingham's West Indians

Why should they buy up our houses, etc?" and an ugly colour bar situation could arise with gathering momentum unless the possibility is faced fairly and squarely immediately, before irrational impulses reawaken as depression increases.

It was similar false reasoning that caused the German working class to turn on the Jews in the Hitler era as the main cause of their economic frustration.

What is the British Government doing, we may well ask. "Attached to the Colonial Office are Welfare liaison officers from the Jamaican and other West Indian Governments," Mr. Hare said in the Commons on April 10. "If there were any serious prospect of unemployment, my Right hon. Friend would inform those Governments."

Defence expenditure

On June 22 alone more than 2,000 West Indian immigrants arrived in Britain. A Mine Chief in Birmingham asked: "Does the Government know nothing about the employment situation or is it a deliberate policy to get cheap labour for the mines or other industries?" (The wages in the mines are far less than car workers have been receiving.)

Why is the Government only cutting defence expenditure by £36,500 when we are spending £1,500,000,000 a year on a war economy?

Why is there no heavy industry developed in the West Indies (or in any British Colony) which could give employment and skills to native populations and increase their own standards of living?

By exposing the real economic causes of the present crisis in all organisations to which we belong with far greater determination, and by encouraging all those who wish for brotherhood between nations, or a better standard of living for themselves and for others, to question our MPs, and to press for answers and solutions from the British Government about their plans for the future, we can begin to undermine the causes of reaction and racial antagonism which could so easily work havoc in a period such as this.

The constructive asking and answering of such questions in the immediate future may surely prove to be the beginning of wisdom!

Peace policy

★ FROM PAGE ONE

the atomic arms race. We hope the Government will think again before it is too late.

There is need for a revolutionary change of outlook to match the revolution in man's power to destroy.

We should like to see Britain lead the way, renouncing power politics completely and adopting instead policies of positive and persistent peace-making.

One reply, Alan Litherland told Peace News this week, contained the signatures of 17 teachers, all from the same school; another was signed by 22 members of a Church Ladies Meeting; a third enclosed two letters, one signed by eight teachers in a girls' school and the other by 25 girls in one form of that school. The schoolgirls' letter reads:

"Although schoolgirls today, we are the citizens of tomorrow, and as such are concerned about the future of the world.

"Therefore we support you in your endeavours for peace, and shall do our best to make our own contributions towards it."

SCHEME OF PROTEST

Asked to comment on the response to the letter, Alan Litherland told Peace News:

"Although the letter emphasised the need for a 'revolutionary change of outlook,' of which the question of the H-bomb tests is only one aspect, it was clear from the letters we received that most of our correspondents want some sort of united protest against tests as such.

"I am therefore working out a scheme for a protest in the autumn."

Many calls for a petition against future H-tests are being made in the Press.

A correspondent in the Leicester Mercury has declared the "elaborate preparations to explode yet another bomb . . . a crime against humanity." Another writer commends the editor of that paper for keeping the issue to the fore and urges "a great campaign."

From Manchester, the Presbyterian and Unitarian Provincial Assembly have sent MPs a resolution expressing its profound disquiet at the dangers and genetic hazards to human health and happiness occasioned by the testing of nuclear and similar weapons" and urged the Government "to seek immediately international agreement to put an end to all such tests."

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MADAGASCAR

● FROM PAGE FIVE

Raseta, a left-wing nationalist and trade union man, Rakotovoao, and three others.

These men, mostly elderly, are in a pathetic plight, and there are many friends within France who are actively trying to intercede with the French government on their behalf. It is probable that the more liberal policy which the French government is pursuing in North Africa will influence the policy in Madagascar too, and that these men will be released before much longer.

The French dilemma is this: To make their rule acceptable they must press on with the social and economic advance of the Malagasy. But as they increase their skills the Malagasy will demand an ever-increasing share in the control of their own lives.

Thus either the success or the failure of French colonial rule in Madagascar will increase the demand for political independence. Whether it is achieved within or without the French Union nobody can yet foresee.

Towards the end of my talk with Razafintsalama we moved out to a dusty bench under the peaceful jacarandas.

He spoke soberly of the bitterness and frustration of many of his fellow-countrymen, and how he continually sought to influence them to fight for their freedom without hatred and without violence.

I felt that his gentleness and his strength were a sign of success—the success not only of his own people, but indirectly of the French, too, who, despite deviations, represent a political doctrine of liberty, equality and fraternity that they carry with them.

France has followed different policies of recent months in Morocco, Tunis, and Algeria. Of the three territories Morocco has been granted a greater degree of independence than the others, having full internal and external powers of self-determination.

For instance, the US is having to renegotiate the agreement on its air bases in Morocco with the new government of the Sultan, and he is setting up his own diplomatic corps.

Of these three territories Morocco is most like Madagascar. Madagascar was a unified kingdom, with its own queen, prime minister, and foreign service before 1895 when the French conquered the island.

Raise the standard of living

In the island only one language, Malagasy, is spoken. The people are hard-working and industrious, and, in the central plateau, live by a highly-developed system of irrigated rice paddies. Their standard of living and stage of development is more like Asians than Africans.

There can be little doubt that the Malagasy have the will and the ability to run their island by themselves. They are watching the developments in North Africa very closely, and will in my opinion manage to follow the North African colonies fairly closely in the movement to self-rule.

During recent months, the French government has granted all colonies a certain degree of self-rule, and has delegated to colonial assemblies fairly wide powers.

It remains to be seen how fully this statute will be applied in Madagascar—the Malagasy are used to there being a gap between French theory and French practice. But if it is honestly applied, and I believe that it will be honestly applied, then the road to Independence lies open, and a healthy, constructive, *commonwealth* relationship with France is within the grasp of the island.

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NO LESSON LEARNED

SYBIL MORRISON

The Battle of the Somme died out in the winter's mud, having cost the three armies nearly a million casualties fairly evenly divided between them. As their sole trophy the British were left in possession of the desolate and useless battlefield. Who won the battle? Nobody. Who lost it? Everybody! What were the results? Nothing upon which historians can agree."

—C. E. Carrington, Daily Telegraph, June 29, 1956.

"OBLITERATION bombing" and the Atom bomb, with their hideous massacre of helpless people, has tended to make the generation that suffered this look upon the First World War as rather a puny sort of affair.

Yet, forty years ago last Sunday, July 1, 1916, 20,000 British men, most of them between the ages of 20 to 30 years were killed, or died of wounds on that first day of the Battle of the Somme. No yard of ground was gained; no German trenches captured; no victory achieved.

Despite the frightful slaughter on that day the battle was joined again the next day, and for three and a half months after, until on November 17, 1916 all the armies, British, French and German, were bogged down in mud and slime and blood, and a halt was called simply because no progress had been made, or could be made. Six miles had been gained by the Allies at the cost of one million casualties.

When July 2, 1916 dawned whole villages, and towns and cities were stricken with the news of the dreadful bereavements which had befallen tens of thousands of their inhabitants.

Those who survived were never able to talk of it; such frightful scenes had been witnessed, such horrible sights had been impressed upon the minds of those young men, some of them not long from school, that they could not speak of it. They could not explain their feelings so they remained, horrified, shattered and silent.

It was ten years before anyone spoke, and then one or two of them wrote poems, or plays or books, such as Siegfried Sassoon's THE MENIN GATE, Remarques's ALL QUIET ON THE WESTERN FRONT, which was one of the favourite headlines of the newspapers, designed to soothe and reassure friends and relatives awaiting news at home; and Sherriff's JOURNEY'S END which put upon the stage a slice from the lives of men in a dug-out in the front line, which was nothing more nor less than a condemned cell. Those who went out from it, went out to certain execution, and they knew it.

The war which was to end war, and which was destined to continue for two more years after The Battle of the Somme, had already decimated a generation. It was little wonder that the survivors, young and old were prepared to say on the 11th hour of the 11th day of the 11th month in 1918, "Never again."

But, it is not enough to be against war because it is horrible and inhuman; the strong anti-war feelings of 1919 were diverted into support of the League of Nations, which was not built upon any pacifist doctrine, but upon so-called Collective Security, which retained the basic requirement for war as an ultimate arbiter.

★

In fact no lesson had been learned; only emotions had been released, which when the testing time came were not strong enough to withstand the propaganda of the day. Emotion is no substitute for conviction; anger and grief no stop-gap for faith; bitterness and despair no alternative for moral strength.

The future holds, not the chance of the death of a generation, nor the slaughter of tens of thousands of civilians, but the death of the human race itself. Mankind's pursuit of peace through war has brought us at last to this fearful possibility.

It is now openly said that nothing was gained by the awful slaughter of the Somme. Already it is being questioned that anything has been achieved by the frightful death-roll of Hiroshima and Nagasaki. In years to come perhaps some lone survivor may ask of the wilderness, what has been won by a nuclear weapon war.

So long as mankind keeps war in the locker to be pulled out in certain circumstances so will war be considered at some time or another to be the answer to the world's problems.

"Defence" today is another word for war, "Peace," that sadly mis-used word has no place in a world bristling with A and H-bombs; peace can only be victorious when war has been renounced.

MUSTE

● FROM PAGE TWO

much as Arthur would like to co-operate with the Committee and with the government in general, I don't think you'll ever see the day when he will turn in another man's name."

All good Christians should go down on their knees praying that he will stand by that conviction and that Marilyn will stand by him, which will very likely mean that she will become an actress, because she will be more than an actress. All who do not pray should do whatever they do in their inner chambers when one of life's moments of anguish and decision and glory occurs.

It will be interesting to see what happens in the next two weeks. If—as I think is possible—it becomes clear that public sentiment is against the Un-American Activities Committee in this matter, the effect on the whole temper of the country may be very great. It may mean that the business of trying to make "informers" out of Americans after the manner of the totalitarian regimes which we profess to despise and to be out to destroy, will be abolished for a long time to come.

I had meant to write about a remarkable pronouncement recently made by George F. Kennan advocating a neutral Germany and the evacuation of Japan by US troops at an early date. Now there is no space left for that. I cannot say that I regret it very much. For a great human and political drama is being enacted with Mr. Walter, Pennsylvania Democrat, and Mr. Miller and Miss Monroe as the principals. You remember Stephen Spender's poem: "I think continually of those who were truly great . . who left the vivid air signed with their honour."

New repression

□ FROM PAGE ONE

and brother of Bishop Colaco.

Most of these persons are said to have been tortured to extract information about the nationalist movement. Most of these are men not known to have had contact with any anti-Government movement.

The cable called the murder of Krishna Porob, a merchant, who died as a result of torture "reminiscent of Fascist methods of exterminating opponents."

The round-up of these men has taken place on the mere suspicion that they knew something about the underground movement or are indirectly aiding it.

KENYA: a political settlement needed

FROM PAGE ONE

pro-Russian, or pro-African," he said. The shouting continued.

Fenner Brockway, took the microphone and again requested the hecklers to have the courtesy to allow the speakers to continue. "It is Fascism to behave in this manner," he said.

Mr. Hale took the microphone, the first speaker to do so, and continued.

"It is part of this silly nationalism of the past," he said. "We believe in the brotherhood of man. We are internationalists."

British justice, he said, was not something that had been given us. It was, he said, the result of "struggles that our forebears fought for us. We had to fight for the right to vote. We had to struggle for British justice, for the right to organise trade unions."

CHILDREN'S FUND

It was time, he said, to apply some of this justice in the colonial conflicts.

He described how those who defended colonialism had wanted "our children to go to Ireland to fight for them." They had "called Gandhi a half-naked fakir."

"Anyone who knows anything about this knows that the colonial peoples are bound to win. Mr. Lennox-Boyd knows he will have to give Cyprus self-government."

He told the story of the Christian Chief Koinange who has been detained in Kenya for three years without trial. "What chance have you got for establishing justice in conconditions like that?

"The events of the last four years will make co-operation with the Africans difficult. More will make things impossible."

Loud shouting by the hecklers continued, as Mr. Hale sought to continue by the aid of the loud speaker.

He paid tribute to the United Nations Children's Fund, and for their work in British colonies. The British Government, he said, gives it a contribution "less than we give to the Covent Garden Opera House."

He spoke of the good work Eileen Fletcher had done in making public her revelations.

"I would like to pay tribute to the paper that published her account." He called Peace News "one of the best informed papers on colonial affairs," and urged the audience to take out trial subscriptions to Peace News at the Peace News bookstall at the rear of the hall.

During this, the shouting by hecklers continued and Fenner Brockway again issued a warning.

Leslie Hale urged the setting of a date for democratic self-government in Kenya, and if the white settlers are not ready to adjust themselves . . . then they will have to go."

The shouting continued, followed by another warning by the Chairman. When Mr. Hale was paying tribute to the good work done by many British civil servants in the colonies, it reached such a peak that the Chairman asked that British stewards remove the man who had been doing most of the shouting, and who had been personally warned several times.

The heckler fought and kicked the two stewards as he was being removed. They did not hit back, and were attacked by another heckler. The police then came into the hall and led the two men out.

DISCARD WEAPONS

"I hope that the day will come," Mr. Hale continued, "when instead of sending troops to Africa, we will be sending our sons to help in technical development."

He appealed to "the good sense of all people to try to lay the foundations of world peace, being an international economy above of the rivalries of the past."

"Freedom for everyone and abolition of the colour bar, that is our task," he said.

In the question period Mr. Hale declared concerning economic aid programmes that "The only way we can do them is to stop this silly waste of money on armament schemes."

The Government, he said, "wander about with these obsolete weapons and experiment with weapons that may threaten the whole existence of mankind."

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